The News Guild Moves Ahead *by Barbara Giles*

# NEW MASSES

FIFTEEN CENTS

*July 23, 1940*

## Unsettled Score in Mexico
*by Joseph North*

## Planning under Socialism
*by Corliss Lamont*

## Canada at War
*by Joseph Starobin*

## "The Underground Stream"
*a review by Samuel Sillen*

RUTH McKENNEY, GROPPER, ISIDOR SCHNEIDER, SORIANO

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# Between Ourselves

WE HAVE been not a little disturbed by Marshal Petain's appropriation of the first person plural, "we," hitherto reserved for kings and editors. In fact we were tempted to abandon the pronoun to its fate, but we never did like the capital I's. All of which is a prelude to the statement that this is Monday morning and we have a sunburn. Duty called last week and we went forth as a representative of NM to a summer camp. Summer camps have always frightened us since we were three and a hunter mistook us for a rabbit.

Via bus we rode forth into the wilderness of New York's Putnam County to find a civilized settlement with a casino, outdoor movie, a swing band, and all accessories necessary for a good time, including NM on the library table. Watching other campers dive from the boathouse pier into the lake, we wondered why we never had the courage to try it. An old friend who had fought with the loyalist army in Spain walked over to show us a letter he had just received from Alicante. It was from two sisters whom he had met in that seacoast town. The family, he recalled, was strongly anti-fascist. The girls, of course, wrote about little things. They asked for chocolate and sugar. They were very pleased that he had continued to correspond with them. It was their way of saying that they still hated Franco and were watching for a new day. The vet also told us about the solidarity festival to be held over at Staten Island on Sunday, July 21. "It's for the volunteers and the refugees still over there."

Later we watched a baseball game in which some of the boys could have used tennis rackets instead of bats. But the girls were first rate. They socked the old pill for many a three-bagger and home run. After we had surrounded one of those Sunday camp meals, with three meat courses and two desserts, we were ready for retirement, but we yielded to the whimsy of an energetic acquaintance and went for a ride *a cheval* up the bridle path. We don't have to tell you the results, which were disastrous to our dignity. The nag was happily not too spirited, so that we did return to the camp just as dusk was falling—and just before we were falling off the horse from sheer fatigue. Then one of the campfire girls—she said she reads NM religiously—induced us to stay over for a little while to hear the camp swing band. She happened to be a jitterbug, which would have been all right with us from afar, but when she inveighed us into a jam session, we gave out. Later, as we became a wallflower, a portly gentleman from the city told us that he was in the furniture business and had heard that we were on NM. He dabbled in the market, he said, and kept his eye on politics. One way of knowing what was what was to read everyone's point of view. He thought we hit the mark oftener than the New York *Times*; the only trouble was we had no financial department. He donated $5, however, to NM, despite our warning that NM would never have a financial department.

Reluctantly we turned homeward. At the office next morning a stack of weekend mail lay high on the desk. One letter from a girl in Cincinnati did our heart good. She wrote: "My mother and I have been doing mental gymnastics. July 1 was my father's birthday. He won't wear gift ties. He has plenty of shirts. He doesn't smoke a pipe and he's never finished the carton of cigarettes I gave him on Father's Day. We decided on something much better; to give a gift not to him but in his name—a gift of money to NM. In this way, everyone will benefit from his birthday present. We know how terribly important NM's continued existence is in the world today. So happy birthday to my father via NM. Enclosed please find $5." Then a postscript: "If you think some more of your readers might like this idea, publish this letter."

From far off Honolulu a Fourth of July letter: "We'd get lonely if we didn't hear from you and we're not taking any chance of not hearing from you in the future. We'll continue to send help as frequently as we can from these parts. We are enclosing $5—don't close shop." We were especially tickled to receive a note from Valparaiso in W. Willkie's home state of Indiana. It was written by an official of a manufacturing company: "I enjoyed A. B. Magil's 'At Willkie's Convention' so much that I am ordering six extra copies of the July 9 issue."

Our heartiest applause of the week goes to friends of NM in Westport, Conn. They held a lawn party in that suburb last Saturday night. Bill Gropper headed the list of celebrities and the celebrities were full of good cheer toward NM, for when the receipts were counted NM was richer by close to $200.

Then by way of Hollywood come a check and letter. It was sent to a friend there by an actor now in England who writes: "The subscription to this magazine has expired and you know how difficult it is to send dollars from here. At the same time it would be a calamity not to get it. It gives one a pleasure one does not like to miss in wartime. . . . We expect to win through, although there may have to be certain changes before we do. Whatever you hear, don't think that we, or any of our friends, are downhearted."

And from scattered precincts: praise for Ruth McKenney's piece on dialectics from a Philadelphia reader. And from A. Garcia Diaz praise, too, for Carey McWilliams' "A Challenge to Liberals," for Frank J. Wallace's story on gold, and for the series by Corliss Lamont on socialism. Which reminds us that Mr. Lamont has assured us that he will gladly answer any questions raised by his three pieces, the last of which appears in this issue. The questions and answers will appear in forthcoming issues.

*For your datebook:* The weather man informs us that the evening of August 9 will be humid and torrid except at the Lido pool on West 146th Street, Manhattan, where NM's friends will keep the climate under control. It will be a swing-swim evening which our affairs department guarantees will be long remembered. A beauty contest will be judged by stage, radio, and screen stars. NM's entire staff will be looking for you. Tickets (at NM's office or the Workers Bookshop, 50 East 13th St.) are 65 cents and include cost of a locker.

## *Who's Who*

JOSEPH STAROBIN is an editorial writer for NM, specializing in foreign affairs. . . . Corliss Lamont is author of *You Might Like Socialism* and a philosophical work, *The Illusion of Immortality*. . . . Isidor Schneider is former literary editor of NM and author of *From the Kingdom of Necessity*. . . . Milton Meltzer is well known to NM readers as the author of numerous articles and book reviews.

## *Flashbacks*

MEMO on bombings: On July 22, 1916, a bomb was thrown during the Preparedness Day Parade at San Francisco. Six persons were killed. Tom Mooney, powerful labor leader, was falsely charged with the crime, found guilty, and sentenced to death. . . . As the Democratic Resolutions Committee wrangles about "Equal Rights for Women" we are reminded of a far more important discussion of the question. The first Woman's Rights Convention in this country was held July 19, 1848, at Seneca Falls, N. Y. . . . And for the millions who may soon be forced to serve in Wall Street's conscript army, this reminder: veterans of the last war—bonus marchers—were told on July 20, 1932, that they had just ten days to get the hell out of Washington. President Hoover (remember Aid to Finland?) was offering gunfire and tear gas to American soldiers asking relief.

# This Week

NEW MASSES, VOL. XXXVI, NO. 5

*July 23, 1940*

Mexico's Unfinished Business *by Joseph North* . . . . 3
The Newspaper Guild Moves Ahead *by Barbara Giles* . 5
Canada at War *by Joseph Starobin* . . . . . 7
Gropper's Cartoon . . . . . 9
The Sixth American Youth Congress . . . . . 10
Strictly Personal *by Ruth McKenney* . . . . . 12
How Socialist Planning Works *by Corliss Lamont* . . 13
Editorial Comment . . . . . 15

REVIEW AND COMMENT

"The Underground Stream" *by Samuel Sillen* . . . . 18
Propaganda Analysis *by Isidor Schneider* . . . . . 19
Youth Congress *by Milton Meltzer* . . . . . 21
Crime Doesn't Pay *by Alvah Bessie* . . . . . 23
Art work by Soriano, A. Jamison, Martin.

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NEW MASSES

VOLUME XXXVI JULY 23, 1940 NUMBER 5

# Mexico's Unfinished Business

## Have the Camacho forces underestimated Almazan's strength? The fascists buy three corpses and lose an election. The challenge before the CTM. Joseph North continues his firsthand reports.

*Mexico City.*

NEARLY everybody who isn't wearing the green of Almazan in his lapel is recounting the story of the morgue: how the Monterrey general's lieutenants went out to buy three cadavers to add to his list of losses so that he could claim more dead than the *Camachistas*. Almazan's contention is that the followers of the Party of the Mexican Revolution did most of the machine-gunning on election Sunday. The morgue story is no macabre joke: Gen. Heriberto Jara, president of the PRM, waved the receipts for the bodies when he spoke from his headquarters last Thursday.

### ALMAZAN'S POSITION

Cadavers, however, won't win the presidency for Almazan. And he isn't stopping at the price of three dead men. He has a lot of pesos in the strongbox (and plenty of dollars) and he will make use of them for his own nefarious purposes. He hasn't conceded victory to Avila Camacho, not by a long shot. Today his people were busily counting their "vote," separate and apart from the official count. These "totals" will be used to contest the indubitable victory of the progressives' candidates.

What form his ultimate opposition will take depends on a number of factors, not the least of which is the answer to this question: Will the PRM and its principal groupings, the Confederation of Mexican Workers and the peasant organization, take the offensive? They've been on the defensive a long time now, several years in fact. Will their leaders realize the danger and take the initiative? For Almazan has the arrogance of money: he has a handful of good cards that he is playing close to the vest.

His refusal to concede defeat is a bargaining point. If he doesn't get some sort of compromise, one satisfactory to himself and the big business men he represents, he may play his trump card: uprising. He and his followers took heart on election day—they contend they won the streets. They took the initiative. As a matter of fact, the leaders of the progressives did hand the streets over to the Almazanists. The Camacho forces had more men, more power, more elan—but they were told by their top men to stay off the streets, not to be "provoked" by the Almazanists. Though all inhabitants were supposed to park their customary revolvers for the day, the Almazan *pistoleros* did no such thing. There were considerably more dead and wounded Camacho followers by election night than of the opposition, and the workingmen and peasants wanted to know why.

It is clear their leaders, from Cardenas down, underestimated the strength of Almazan, did not think he would go to the extremes he did. The Workers Militia was not to be seen election day. The unionists went home and let the Almazanists roam the streets. Foreign observers, most of them sympathizers of reaction, claimed that the election was an overwhelming victory for the Monterrey millionaire. The Greens jeered at the unionists, taunted them with cowardice in the pro-Almazan daily press, turned the heat on Lombardo Toledano, head of the CTM, against whom they directed their hottest fire. When the rank and file of the progressive coalition counted their losses and then heard the taunts of the Almazanists, they had a few questions to ask of their leaders. By Thursday after election day—the day when votes are counted—the PRM and the CTM had mobilized their strength, regained the streets. There had been plenty of verified reports that the Greens would be out again looking for trouble if the election count indicated Camacho had won. The tally showed 2,265,199 votes for Camacho, 128,574 votes for Almazan. But there was scarcely one shot heard during the entire day. Why? Because the workers mobilized: the peasants came to town in their sombreros and serapes and demonstrated all day before the PRM headquarters. The official figure given of the demonstrators was forty thousand. And this day it was hard to find one wearer of the Almazan green on the streets. The leaders of the progressives stood on the PRM balconies and addressed their followers. Lombardo Toledano came out and wound up his eloquent address with the peroration: "People of Mexico, to the offensive, to the offensive, to the offensive."

### THE REVOLUTION IN DANGER

It was the slogan the rank and file wanted to hear. But to go on the offensive connotes many things. First, let us not overlook the fact that Almazan—principal peril to the gains of the 1910 Revolution—drew his strength from the fact that the Revolution had come to a relative standstill two years ago. Land distribution had practically stopped; wages were static while the cost of living soared. Democracy within the popular organizations was far from satisfactory. Labor unity was not realized, and without that factor grave dangers lie ahead. For the independent role of labor in this political scene is of paramount necessity. Unless it is achieved, unless the trade unions cease to tag along after the policy of the national bourgeoisie, then defeat looms. As I indicated in a previous article, powerful sections of the bourgeoisie that had come into existence since 1910 were ready to call a halt by 1938. Half a million workingmen and peasants had laid down their lives in these thirty years. Toledano said on the balcony Thursday, and those lives were not lost in vain, he pledged. He called for the initiative. He has many fences to mend to achieve that slogan.

### THE CTM

Without going into detail in this article, the picture of the CTM is about this. The CTM has about 800,000 to a million members. It gained its strength, its existence, in the relative unity achieved in fighting Calles and the fascist Gold Shirts in 1935. Calles' revolt and his backing by imperialists cemented the workers into a common lineup. The CTM grew out of the Committee for Proletarian Defense that was formed when Calles threatened Mexico City. Today there is another menace of revolt. Today there is need for another great initiative as there was five years ago. But there seems to be a consistent underestimation of the strength of reaction on the part of certain PRM leaders.

This impression I got from interviews this week with General Jara, president of the PRM, and Gen. Avila Camacho himself. Both had identical attitudes: both were inclined to pooh-pooh the danger of uprising. Both stressed the strength of the PRM; both minimized the dissatisfaction throughout the country; both insisted that the gains of the Revolution are continuing when it is common, everyday knowledge that they have come to a standstill. In fact President-elect Camacho expressed doubt to me that there were still large landholders in the country, and this in the face of every man's knowledge that there are haciendas comprising tens of thousands of hectares. Camacho told me he would not abandon the Cardenas policy of land distribution, but his declaration of ignorance concerning the existence of large landholders left me with a questionmark.

In addition, the reaction of both Jara and Camacho to the Havana pan-American conference later this month was enlightening.

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Both said that Washington had no ulterior motives in the conference; that it was imperative to achieve pan-American unity in the face of encroachments of Nazi imperialism. But when the question of Yankee imperialism came up, Jara said he was certain that Washington had learned from its mistakes of the past. "The policy of Roosevelt is one of a good friend," he said. "At Havana we will strengthen the relations between our two lands." No, he saw no danger of economic enslavement, and though the pressure of Wall Street undoubtedly continues on Roosevelt, still it hasn't been successful in altering FDR's policies. From these and other indications this much is clear: the people will have considerable prodding to do to have their will prevail. And for this reason it is imperative that the working class achieve unity, go on the offensive.

This is the challenge before the CTM leaders, particularly Lombardo Toledano. He has enemies galore; his life has been threatened time and again, but his greatest enemy is the slowdown of the Revolution. If he will hearken to his rank and file, muster them, take the initiative he called for on the PRM balcony, then many things here will change. The attitude toward Yankee imperialism is important: will Toledano tag along after the policy of the government, which has inclined toward playing ball with the exploiters of Latin America? He has shown tendencies to do so. Or will he heed the age old condemnation by the people of all imperialism? If he does the latter he can become one of the greatest figures in the history of all Hispano-America. If he knuckles down under Washington pressure—it's a different story. He has only one way to act if he is guided by the cheers that went up on the Reforma when he cried out: "People of Mexico, to the offensive, to the offensive, to the offensive."

JOSEPH NORTH.

*Joseph North has left Mexico City and is now traveling through the rural areas of Mexico. His forthcoming articles will discuss in detail the problems of the peasantry, the distribution of the land, the oil question, and the labor picture.*

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# The Newspaper Guild Moves Ahead

## The real free press meets in Boss Crump's town. Unity licks the disrupters. Mr. Pegler frustrated again. Barbara Giles tells the story of the Memphis convention.

WESTBROOK PEGLER'S fink soul was wounded last week—not mortally, I'm afraid—by a hundred arrows of trade union principles. It was those principles that won out, and by whacking majorities, at the American Newspaper Guild's seventh annual convention in Memphis. They won over Red-baiting—some of it scarcely less subtle than Pegler's—disruption, appeasement. Most newspapers, I think, reported the elections as a "victory for the guild administration." The phrase is accurate but not adequate. That majority vote was an endorsement of the type of leadership, the policies and program, by which the guild has grown in seven years from a federation of craft associations to a militant, progressive CIO union. Mr. Pegler, of course, will call that a Communist growth. But never mind Pegler. Look at the convention elections: president, Donal Sullivan of Boston—twenty-nine years old, an aggressive, experienced trade unionist; an International Executive Board also composed overwhelmingly of sound trade union leaders. That, with the policies that were laid down, the unity that was finally achieved, will make a guild disrupter's life from now on anything but pie.

### THERE WAS A FIGHT

Yes, there was a fight. It was an ugly fight—but it was never so big as the publicity it got. Red-baiting and headlines have a political affinity; and disrupters are under the constant necessity of sounding off. Also, there are few things that reactionary publishers enjoy more than a good fight in the Newspaper Guild, and they made the most of this one. Numerically, however, the obstructionists' actual strength was not impressive. At their worst, they represented certain forces that had got control in the Washington, D. C., and Seattle guilds. Robert Buck, leader of the Washington group, in 1936 opposed the guild's affiliation with the AFL. It represented a step forward and Mr. Buck didn't like it. When the guild went into the CIO, Buck developed an intense appreciation—which he still retains—for William Green craft unionism. In Seattle the war frenzy was utilized by Red-baiters. Two of their major strategists (not at the convention) have interesting records. One, Fred Niendorff, formerly headed a company union that fought the Seattle guild. Lester M. Hunt, the other, is a press agent for Dave Beck, racketeering boss of the teamsters' union, who set goons on the Seattle *Star* strikers in 1937. Both men were expelled at one time from the Seattle guild for their union-busting work, and taken back when they promised to behave.

Add to such elements the Social Democrats, the devotees of Dubinsky, and you get what amounts to a bottle of arsenic. In a weak trade union it might have been fatal. In the guild it managed to tempt only enough people to form a dissident minority. A small faction, consisting largely of Kenneth Crawford, tried to get full guild support for Roosevelt's present policies. Crawford, you probably will recall, was "drafted" for reelection to the presidency and defeated by Sullivan. There were a few drawn into the opposition by personal ambition, others who had been shaken by the war scare and spreading reaction. A number, it was plain, had been impressed or confused by the disrupters' advance barrage of charges, and weren't sure of the answers.

### HAROLD BREARD

It didn't work. For one thing, the stuff that makes sensational headlines gets irritating when it's dinned directly into your ears. Delegates began to complain that they were sick of hearing the word Communist. Some of them had heard it too often before, applied to them by employers. Harold Breard, leader of the Monroe, La., *News-Star-World* strike—now in its fourteenth week—struck at the center of the opposition on this issue. Early in the convention he told how publisher Ewing (who boasts that he can "handle the guild") together with Monroe's big business men had used the cry of "Communism" and "un-Americanism" against him. Breard happens to be a Catholic and a Democrat whose ancestry is part of state history. Ewing himself is bound to know that the charge of Communism here is pure poppycock; but it's a way to "handle the guild." Later Breard spoke again—he is young, a little awkward, unaccustomed to microphones—when the Seattle-Washington faction offered its resolution to put the guild on record against "Communism, Nazism, and fascism." It had been argued by proponents that the resolution would ease the publishers' fears about Communism in the ANG, or at least deprive them of a weapon. Breard objected that this was a form of appeasement: "What did appeasement do for the Allies? It wasn't Communism that wrecked France; she was sold down the river by the employers—the publishers, if you will."

Here was a voice from the "little locals" which the opposition was out to protect from "New York domination." What's more, it came from a delegate whose guild unit was thriving on the very opposite of appeasement. At the start of the Monroe strike the town had seven active guildsmen; now it has eighteen. This is the first guild strike in the Deep South. There isn't another CIO union within a hundred miles and the strikers have to fight not only the employers but AFL hierarchs. Yet with all the opposition, all the scare about "Communism," Breard recently came within 140 votes of being elected to the local Board of Education—indicating that the people of Monroe also may be succumbing to ennui in respect to Red bogies.

### RED-BAITERS' CLICHE

Originally the "Communism, Nazism, fascism" resolution had been drawn against Communism only; which is a rather different, or perhaps bolder, tactic in standard witch-hunting. The authors later "modified" it by substituting the Red-baiting cliche. Even so, it was tabled, 105 to thirty-seven. But this was the fourth evening of the convention, and clarity had begun to have its way well before that time. The opposition's charges of maladministration, bossism, favoritism, withered under an inquiring look. An executive session, with free airing of all accusations and answers, blew away some of the corridor and closed-room murkiness. Also, a fat, calmly factual report by the administrative officers expedited understanding. It was good to have that report, to read it amid the disorder of deliberate obstruction and realize that as an aggressive labor organization the guild is doing nicely—very nicely. It has increased its number of contracts, strengthened them, and made a considerable dent in the guild-resistant Associated Press and William Randolph Hearst. To do these things while swinging a successful, sixty-nine-week strike (against Hearst in Chicago), while the anti-labor convulsions in Washington shake the country, is not easy.

Such items about the guild do not rate space in the Memphis *Commercial Appeal* or *Press-Scimitar* (both Scripps-Howard). Neither do resolutions which say flatly that the Allen bill to deport Harry Bridges is unconstitutional; or which protest the current goings-on in Washington against the Wagner act, WPA, and the wage-hour law; or support the Bill of Rights. I don't remember, either, that the Memphis papers paid much attention to A. J. Isserman's address. Mr. Isserman, the guild's attorney, spoke with some thoroughness on Thurman Arnold's strange confusion regarding trusts and unions. The *Press-Scimitar*, however, printed a sizable interview with Kenneth Crawford boosting Arnold's chief in the White House. It also carried Pegler's latest Message on "Muscovite parachutists" in the guild. Since Pegler appears on the editorial page, the Message was some distance from that day's news story about the guild; the editors did what they could about that by breaking into the first few lines of the news story to call their readers' attention to the column. In the *Commercial Appeal* a large picture of Earl Brow-

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der turned up right alongside the runover from page 1 of the guild story. It was titled "Browder Is Unhappy" and may have been intended to cheer up Boss Crump of Memphis, who was having to stand the presence of a CIO union convention which he had requested to stay out of his town.

BOSS CRUMP

Boss Crump doesn't want *any* kind of CIO union around Memphis. It's bad for the "niggers" to meet the "Communists." I'm not sure whether it's Crump or his chief of police—or perhaps both of them—who claims that he can spot Communists on sight from having read a book about them. When in doubt, he looks for the union card. Crump, however, is a genteel man. I was told so by one of his most respectable supporters: "Ed Crump is no cheap demagogue—he's got good blood. And he knows how to get the nigra vote. When a nigra dies, Crump goes to the funeral and shakes hands with everybody. He got two big housing projects built for them. And he looks out for Memphis, keeps out the CIO and the Communists. He wouldn't even let Earl Browder get off the train in this town."

Boss Crump couldn't very well prevent 150 men from stepping off the train, so the delegates came and stayed. Nor did he interfere with them, except to prevent their seeing a Negro parade and show on Beale Street —the "nigras" might get ideas. His attitude is not too hard to understand: if you're determined to keep labor unions out of a town that cries for organization, as Memphis does, the "CIO equals Communism" fantasy is useful. I suspect that the guild convention had some educational aspects for Memphis—and in a way that won't help Mr. Crump.

For that matter, it had educational angles for the delegates. It's disheartening but instructive to watch disrupters at work. From the press table, for the first few days at least, the scene was not pretty. The most routine pieces of business were halted by obstructionist tactics; an atmosphere of lobby politics was brought onto the convention floor; delegates who wanted to concentrate on trade union matters were forced to spend time combating dissidents. The instructive thing about it is that disrupters literally have no program except to thwart the majority, and it's sooner or later found out. They can make a great deal of noise, though, especially if they are not a large group and noise is twice as necessary. But the roll call results are more eloquent. For example, some of the heaviest salvos were directed at Milton Kaufman, executive vice president, and Victor Pasche, secretary treasurer. It was charged that they were "Reds" and part of the "New York domination." Yet a roll call vote showed that if the entire New York delegation had abstained from voting Kaufman and Pasche would have been reelected anyway. Working under such circumstances, the delegates accomplished a surprising lot. It shows in such things as the unsensational, vital output of committees. The legislative report adopted by the convention is a beautiful analysis of pending measures that affect labor, and the guild's attitude toward them. Quote:

> The Newspaper Guild supports all measures which genuinely defend the United States of America and its democratic institutions. For that reason we condemn as dangerous and harmful the use of the term "national defense" to cloak proposals which are aimed at the destruction of the constitutional rights of law-abiding citizens who constitute religious, racial, national, or political minorities and condemn the attack on labor's rights and civil liberties.

In two resolutions—that on Harry Bridges and the one supporting national defense and opposition to subversive activities—delegates reaffirmed devotion to and defense of the Bill of Rights. A united guild is behind that program. Only a fractional residue of the opposition—the original disrupters—failed to make a public pledge of their loyalty to the guild membership represented by the international officers.

How do the arrows feel, Mr. Pegler?

BARBARA GILES.

## Cuba's Election

THERE is little doubt of Fulgencio Batista's electoral victory in Cuba. Supported by the democratic forces, but at the same time by sections of a right wing political machine, Batista defeats Dr. Ramon Grau San Martin, symbol of the ABC reactionaries with well known pipelines to Wall Street. The election was more orderly than was anticipated, San Martin's effort to suspend the balloting in the Camaguay and Matanzas province having failed. The showing of Dr. Juan Marinello, Cuba's foremost progressive intellectual, in the race for the mayoralty of Havana was still in doubt as we went to press. His chances against two conservative rivals were considered good. Fundamentally Cuba's election remains a promise—as in Mexico. It will pay dividends to the people only if they take the initiative in pushing forward the struggle to safeguard Cuba's independence from American imperialism, to improve economic conditions at the expense of the sugar planters and refinery owners.

A. Jamison

*News Item: Mr. Willkie Buys a Book*

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# Canada at War

## People across our northern border are resentful, suspicious, puzzled by the war, Joseph Starobin reports. The effects of the French defeat. Second of a series.

WARTIME Canada appeared to me like nothing so much as an iceberg. I do not mean merely that the Canadian atmosphere is one of war chill rather than war fever. Actually, that chill had thawed somewhat when the war itself opened up in May. Canada resembles an iceberg in another sense, namely that the larger part of what goes on lies well below the surface. What you read in the newspapers, see in the newsreels, and hear over the government-owned Canadian Broadcasting Company represents the point of view of relatively few people.

To begin with, several vertical distinctions are necessary. There is French Canada, comprising the whole of Quebec province and nearly 50 percent of the population of the maritimes—New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island—one-third of Canada's people. At the very best, French Canada merely tolerates this war. Opposition to service overseas is traditional; very few of the 100,000 volunteers in Canada's active force of 125,000 are French Canadian. In the last war, there were riots in the streets of Montreal against conscription. No political party can come to French Canada with a program of war enthusiasm. A month ago the government was able to pass its Emergency Powers Act, giving it the right to conscript "wealth and manpower" only on the grounds that Canada itself is in danger of imminent German attack, only against considerable French Canadian opposition in the House and the provincial legislatures, and only because government spokesmen specifically pledged that the emergency powers would be used solely for "home defense."

### THE PRAIRIES

In the Canadian prairie country, the heart of "populist" feeling and organization, the farmers are mostly of German, Ukrainian, Polish, Finnish, and Scandinavian origin. Many of them served in the last war, and were thereafter homesteaded in the prairie. Since the catastrophic agricultural collapse of the early thirties and the terrible three-year drought that followed, these farmers have been on relief. Their personal recollection of 1914-18 inspired the same type of isolationism as in our own Midwest; their experience of the past decade brings to the surface searching questions about the very foundation of capitalist economics. These folk hate the mortgage companies, the bankers, the farm implement manufacturers, all of whom personify the East. If the East favors the war, that alone is enough reason why the West is against it.

Even in Ontario, or British Columbia, or the maritimes, the centers of empire feeling, inhabited almost exclusively by Irishmen, Scotchmen, and Englishmen of United Kingdom origin, or else descendants of those Tories who escaped the American Revolution, there are other factors which modify war feeling. Ontario, for example, is Canada's foremost industrialized region. Workers in the auto plants, textile mills, and aircraft factories—miners and steelworkers in Nova Scotia—have not hesitated in the past year to strike for better wages and hours, in virtual defiance of the government's power to cripple such actions. Class considerations have taken the edge off empire loyalty.

Only five months before last September Mackenzie King, the prime minister, asserted in Parliament:

> The idea that every twenty years this country should automatically, and as a matter of course, take part in a war overseas . . . that a country which has all it can do to run itself should feel called upon to save, periodically, a continent that cannot run itself, and to these ends risk the lives of its people, risk bankruptcy and political disunion, seems to many nightmare and sheer madness.

Mackenzie King's sentence structure is rather involved. And his pacifism at that time coincided with Mr. Chamberlain's assurances to Germany in that "big and dangerous game" which the British rulers were playing. But the sentiment is well founded. It did express, and still does express, how the Canadians feel about this war.

It seemed to him "nightmare and sheer madness" five months earlier. But in September Mackenzie King did go to war. He did it rather casually—a full week after the mother country itself was at war with Germany—thereby making it appear that Canada went into the war of her own free will. Then for six months, there was very little doing—except in the brief interlude when the eternal hope sprang up that the war might be switched against the Soviet Union. If the peoples of Europe were mystified by the knitting session along the Maginot Line, the mystification was even more pervasive three thousand miles across the sea. During the fall and winter Mackenzie King legislated without Parliament. And as soon as the House assembled King decided to call an election. Its results are of the greatest significance in any estimate of how the Canadians feel about the war.

### THE CONSERVATIVES

The Conservatives, so colonial-minded that they are more imperialist than the British diehards, were represented by Dr. R. J. Manion and his National Union platform. Manion campaigned for a more vigorous war effort. He demanded and promised a government of national concentration, dedicated to the energetic regimentation of the people in anticipation of a long conflict. Mackenzie King exuded characteristic caution. He pledged no conscription. He appeared before the people as the "lesser evil," favoring a leisurely, "profitable participation" with the accent on "profitable."

Of the 6,600,000 eligible voters, only 3,726,200 were sufficiently aroused to visit the polls. Thousands of ballots were simply marked *"paix,"* or "peace." The Liberals won overwhelmingly, adding eight members to the 169 in the previous House. Dr. Manion's party—the protagonists of an "all-out" war—was decisively rejected. They held their thirty-eight seats—but twenty-five of these came from Ontario. The Conservatives carried only a handful of constituencies from the West, and none at all from Alberta, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island. R. J. Manion himself was defeated.

The Communist Party, the only political group opposing the war, was handicapped by inadequate facilities. Its membership was already feeling the brunt of the Defense of Canada Regulations. Some of its candidates were in jail; others might expect to be before the House convened. Yet the Communist vote has been conceded as at least 75,000 throughout the dominion—in Toronto and Winnipeg CP candidates ran well. The other two minor parties disappointed their own followers. Neither the Social Credit movement nor the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation had taken a firm stand against the war. Characteristic of all Social Democratic politicians, most CCF-ers emphasized how vigorously they would prosecute the war if given the chance. Their vote totaled 370,000 ballots—considered a disappointing result. It may be interpreted as a measure of socialist sentiment in Canada as well as a rebuke by the rank and file to the equivocating stand of the CCF leadership on the war. Significantly, the one CCF leader, J. S. Woodsworth, who openly campaigned against the war, even though on personal pacifist grounds, was returned from North Winnipeg Center by a comfortable margin.

Perhaps the best interpretation of the election results came from the tory paper—the Toronto *Evening Telegram,* which admitted, to its chagrin:

> The avalanche of votes which swept the King government back into power is an emphatic declaration that the people of this country are not "war-conscious." There is no use pretending that the electorate has given King a mandate for the more vigorous prosecution of the war . . . the reverse is the case . . . Probably the biggest vote ever recorded by the women of the country was polled yesterday. . . . That vote was "against conscription."

Two trends have developed since March. As the war became less equivocal, its enthusi-

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asts have become more vocal. Recruiting has taken a rise. Soldiers train in the public parks of Toronto. And as they parade through the streets with a studied nonchalance, people pause to watch, especially for the kilted Irish regiments, and more especially if the bands are playing. The IOBE, the ultra-patriotic women's organization, gives garden parties for the purchase of bombers. There is a heated controversy as to whether the Lord's Day ordinance shall be sacrificed so that movies may be shown on Sunday for the benefit of the war fund. Posters everywhere urge the purchase of War Savings certificates—and there has been a fairly lively sale since they went on the market at the end of May. In the letters column a lively discussion continues along the general idea that "there will always be an England." Nevertheless, the Toronto *Globe and Mail,* a newspaper which tries to be the Canadian New York *Times,* complains in its issue of June 20 that the work of recruiting should be enlivened.

Even if the securing of men is certain, why not get out the bands? Let there be spirited appeals by public speakers. Release enthusiasm. The people have been in a state of restrained emotion which tends toward pessimism. This danger would be removed by providing an outlet for patriotic fervor. Give the people a chance to cheer.

On the other hand, if in the first eight months after September, the public was mystified by the "phony war," the swift tempo of the battle, once it began, culminating in the collapse of France, has left the public gasping. The mystification today is of a deeper kind. People are asking where the war will be fought now that Germany controls the Continent? Just at the moment when war interest was reaching a peak, the whole business has suddenly lost focus. Why train soldiers in the armories and exhibition grounds when Britain has more soldiers than she needs? Why get into a dither, not to mention a debt, if the war may end before it's hardly begun?

I happened to arrive in Canada at the moment when the French pulled out. The newspapers were unable to give a cogent explanation of these bewildering events—for a while the fault was all Mussolini's for having somehow betrayed all those people who had cherished such high hopes of him. The Canadian public, even more than our own, had been nourished on the gruel of British war communiques. The ether had been supercharged with superlative praise for the noble Marshal Petain, the elder statesman, savior of his people, hero of Verdun. Editorials explained in detail how resourceful and able and persevering a man was Marshal Maxime Weygand. At first the public was encouraged to believe that France would reject the armistice terms. The bellboy in one hotel asked me repeatedly whether they had "started fighting again." Then the newspapers raised every hope high that the French Navy would unquestionably side with Great Britain—ah the valiant French admirals! the noble Gallic sailors! When that hope squibbed, newspapers again lifted high the chorus that the French colonial empire would refuse to recognize the craven Bordeaux government—ah the brave French empire! the unsparing French colonials!

### SOLDIERS OVERSEAS

Most pathetic of all was the fate of the Canadian soldiers overseas. They had sailed in secret and arrived in Britain to the accompaniment of all the brass instruments. The first division had barely reached Flanders and had hardly smelled smoke when they were rudely evacuated at Dunkirk. After wading across the English Channel, they reembarked for France, but hurriedly backwatered as the Germans arrived in Paris. These events exasperated the tories. They chafed in the House and the Senate, because hardly any Canadian lives had been lost. Finally, to avoid a terrific loss of face, a few Canadian regiments were permitted to occupy Iceland. The newspapers seized upon this occupation as though it were a major military achievement. It was hailed as an enormous victory, a great feat of arms, shades of both Nelson and Wellington. I have never seen anything quite so ludicrous since Kermit Roosevelt tried to get to Finland.

The government took advantage of the disorientation caused by these events to jam through its Emergency Powers Act—the most autocratic delegation of powers Canada has ever seen—giving Ottawa absolute power to regiment every aspect of Canadian life. This was of course a violation of the electoral pledge against conscription. But the slippery Mackenzie King, elbowed by his eel-like French Canadian acting secretary of state and minister of justice, Ernest Lapointe, insisted that the new and grave dangers brought about by a possible German offensive against Canada itself justified the measure. And before people could gather their wits, Colonel Ralston, retiring from the finance department to head the ministry of national defense, brought in a staggering war budget, involving taxation increases on necessaries of life and income and providing for the expenditure of $700,000,000 for the war effort—an enormous drain on Canada's people and a reckless mortgage of Canada's future.

Under such circumstances people have lost their perspective. Two illustrations will suffice. Coming toward Ottawa one evening, I gave a Royal Air Force man a lift. He was a young fellow, in his late twenties, and had given up a good job to enlist in the air force. He was evidently of "good family" and spoke with disparagement of the "lower classes" in the army. He thought Queen Elizabeth was a very beautiful woman and disclosed with pride that when she had visited Montreal last June, he had stood guard a full day in honor of her and King George. He had about five hundred miles to go within his forty-eight hour leave—his wife was about to give birth to their first child, and he was in a great hurry to visit her. We talked about the war. He asked the universal question: how did people in the States feel about it? I explained the many differences of opinion . . . but how did he himself feel? The war must be fought: that's all he could say. Just where? Well, obviously no longer in France. Yes, France was out of the picture, although he didn't quite understand why. The war might have to be fought on Canadian soil, people were being told. The Germans could be expected to attack at any time. I rejoined that this was certainly giving the Germans credit for prodigious powers. President Roosevelt had recently assured us Americans that the Germans might also attack the United States at any moment. The Royal Air Force man was unruffled. The war was going to be fought, although admittedly it would be difficult to fight the Germans if they chose to stay on the other side. How long then, I asked, did he expect the war to continue? He was confident—perhaps five years, perhaps fifteen—one hundred and fifty if necessary!

### THE FARMHAND

Later on I picked up a young farmhand—he was on his way to "ship out" if he could. His confusion differed from that of the Royal Air Force man. If there's going to be war, he said, let's fight it; if not, then what's going on? Mackenzie King, in his opinion, was suspiciously slow in getting started, "probably in cahoots with Hitler when the story's told. I don't mind a little graft," he said, "but from the way things are, only a handful of men will get anything out of it." He had just given up a $70 a month job, and "them's not growing on trees," to go down to Toronto. Wanted to enlist in the navy, but they turned him down. Didn't say why. He couldn't figure it out. Same thing happened to a captain he knew, captain of ships all up and down the Lakes for eighteen years. The captain went down to enlist and the first question they asked was: what yacht club did he belong to? The farmhand spat hard into the road.

Yes, Canada resembles an iceberg. The larger part of it is under the surface. People are confused, harassed, disoriented, uncertain. When they discover where their money has been going, and who's been getting it, their disillusion and wrath is likely to be retroactive. When the 100,000 recruits march around the parks all summer, and the 25,000 air force men train and train and train—only to find that Britain may have made peace with Hitler, or else that Hitler will not come over to Canada after all, people will ask what the whole business was for. The ruling circles will endeavor to stave off the inevitable anger by ever fiercer repressive measures, such as the Treachery Act providing death for treason, which was offered the House last week. And as the common people find they have been paying through the nose, and have been led by the nose, the Canadian iceberg—like Marc Blitzstein's cradle—is going to rock. A lot of people are going to fall off. And there will be a very, very big splash. JOSEPH STAROBIN.

*In his next article Mr. Starobin will analyze the war's effects on the labor movement, the meaning of the latest budget, the trends in Canada's wartime economy.*

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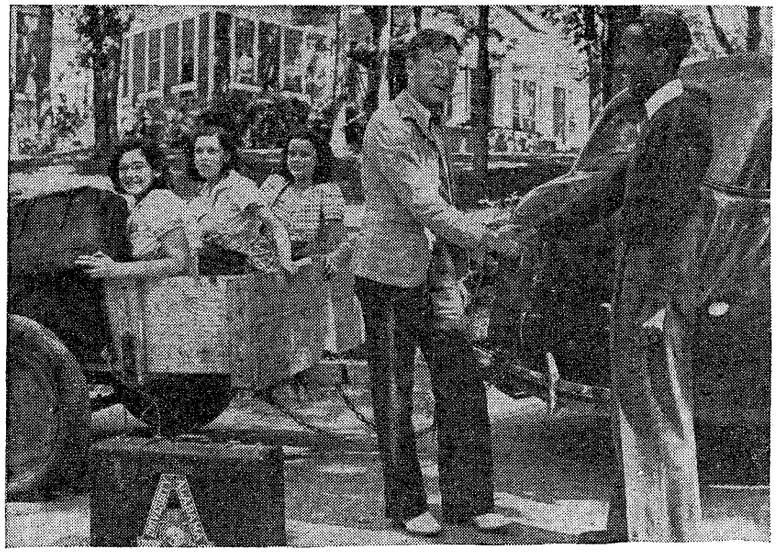
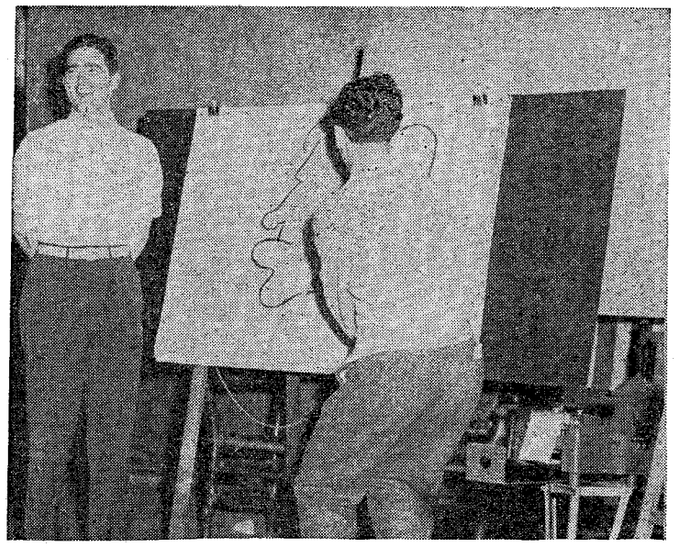


*Delegates from the land's corners greet each other warmly.*

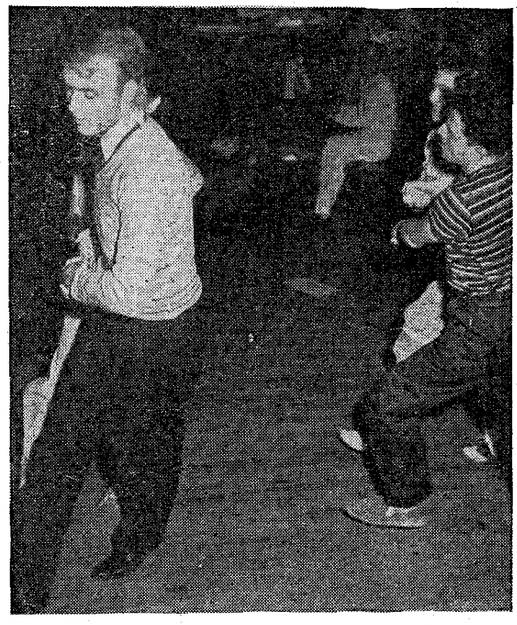


*Malcolm Dobbs, AYC leader, poses for artist.*

*Time out for a swim.*

## Youth Shows the Way

A UNIQUE institution in American life—one of those born in the ferment of the New Deal's beginnings which has survived the New Deal itself—that's the American Youth Congress. As a center of collaboration among some sixty leading American youth organizations, the AYC has withstood every attempt to woo it away from principle, to embarrass it by innuendo, to dismember it by factional strife. Its annual conference, the sixth since 1934, was held over the Fourth of July weekend at Lake Geneva, Wis. It proved to be one of the most successful of all the conferences. NEW MASSES presents photos of delegates at work and play.



*Chairman McMichael leads the dance.*

*Anti-poll tax stamps paid her way.*

*They did not come in Pullmans or in airplane berths.*

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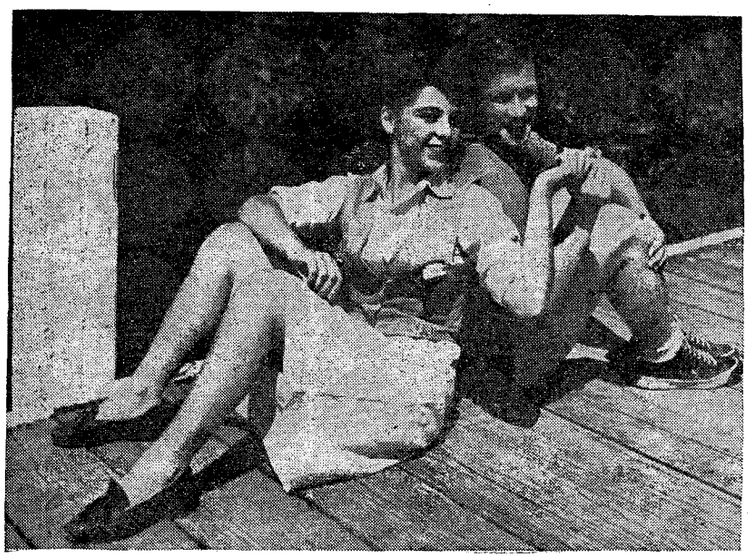

*Back to back, they face each other—one for the album.*

*One panel digs into problems of the Deep South.*

*Only delegates vote on the peace resolution.*

# 533 Young Congressmen

## The AYC gives Tunney a lesson in democracy. They plan a peaceful, busy future.

THE American Youth Congress is not a membership body. It's a coalition of diverse organizations, themselves embracing hundreds of thousands of young people of varying occupations, faiths, points of view. For that reason the AYC is effective and important—it provides a platform on which differences are submerged and common position emphasized. For the very same reason, however, it is vulnerable to factional strife. That's why the sixth American Youth Congress, held July 3-7, was so remarkable. It maintained its unity under the cross fire of conflicting forces, some in open opposition to the aims of the Congress, others more subtly hoping to bend it to their will.

Five hundred and thirty-three delegates gathered—a large number for a confab so far from metropolitan centers. First problem was the so-called pro-American group of phonies, most of them from Michigan, some of them recognized as Henry Ford's crew. They were led by the ex-Socialist Murray Plavner, a man who has made a racket of trying to bust the Youth Congress. They were sponsored by none other than Gene Tunney, who rushed to the Congress by plane from his Connecticut home. The Youth Congress, he intoned, is financed by Moscow—the kind of talk which delegates to AYC conferences have heard for six years, and rejected at least that many times. Said tall, blond Chairman Jack McMichael, formerly with the National Intercollegiate Christian Council, "We know that this is the road to disruption of the Youth Congress. . . . Our answer to this sort of thing was given last July by an enthusiastic and completely unanimous vote to accord full freedom of speech and discussion to all young people, regardless of race, creed, religion, or political label." So Tunney skidooed, after declining the Congress invitation to address the delegates.

Agreement within the Congress centered on issues such as (1) preservation of civil liberties at this time above all, (2) continued pressure for the passage of the American Youth Act for jobs to America's four million young unemployed, (3) support for the anti-poll tax drive now sweeping the Southern youth movement, and (4) emphasis upon full rights for Negro young people. The Congress endorsed previous decisions to continue collaboration with Labor's Non-Partisan League and any other groups with which the AYC can agree on specific issues.

The big debate came on foreign policy and related matters. No delegates dared to favor participation in foreign wars, even those few associated with and representing Roosevelt pressure. Led by Joseph Lash, former student leader now free-lancing in the administration's service, plus Mary Jeanne McKay of the National Student Federation, and supported by a number of Jewish youth organizations and Harriet Pickens, one of the YWCA delegates, this group urged full assistance to Britain, demanded that the Congress fall in line with the "national defense" program, conscription first of all. By a vote of 384 to nineteen the delegates blasted "those policies which in the name of national defense have been leading America step by step toward involvement in war."

Youth does not need to be conscripted to defend the people from the fifth column of undernourishment, joblessness, poor housing, and inadequate opportunity for health [said Jack McMichael]. It is ready and anxious to work, live, and even die if need be for that kind of national defense. But we want to be sure that this is our country's program, that we will not be asked to defend America against Hitlerism by Hitlerizing America.

Next big AYC project is the Emergency Peace Mobilization this Labor Day, at which the AYC hopes to join with thousands of adults in a rally at Chicago against involvement in war.

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# Strictly Personal
by RUTH McKENNEY

## Uncle Pete and the New York "Times"

My Aunt Kate says my Uncle Pete is "strong-minded," but she's prejudiced. Everybody else in the Farrel clan just freely and frankly admits that Uncle Pete is stubborn as an ox, but unfortunately not half so bright.

I wouldn't bring up the dismal subject of Uncle Pete and his little intellectual vagaries, except that the Sunday and Monday (July 7 and 8) editions of the New York *Times* reminded me strongly of the dear old soul. For Uncle Pete, like the New York *Times,* is by way of being a touch didactic in his old age. I remember the last time I hashed over a hunk of politics with my worthy relative.

"You Communists!" my uncle screamed, while Aunt Kate wrung her hands and the neighbors sent in hurry calls for the riot squad, "All you want to do is to have free love colonies and Hitler in the White House and everybody starving."

"Now, listen," I yelled back. "Why don't you *read* something about Marxism? Why don't you take the trouble to find out what we stand for, so you could at least argue intelligently?"

My Uncle Pete arose from his armchair. His face turned a clear but not beautiful purple. He bellowed for all of Cleveland to hear, "Because I don't *want* to read anything about Communism. Thank God, I can say I have never read a line about Communism. And furthermore, I don't *want* to argue intelligently. I just want to wipe you people out."

And before you smile smugly at my Uncle Pete, consider the New York *Times*. For, like my irascible relative, the *Times* at least in its Sunday book review section and daily book page, has come around to the position that by gum, they don't *want* to talk to us, or about us, they just want to wipe us out.

Of course I suppose, in a way, this is the final compliment. They've admitted they can't answer our elegant arguments and adopted the Dies committee approach to belle-lettres, political thought, and related subjects. But I'm just enough my Uncle Pete's niece to resent this graceful tribute. After all, the *Times* is supposed to be running book review departments, and I don't think it's fair to turn critics into FBI men. Marxism may be Untouchable to the *Times* owners, but I still think they ought to grin and bear it in the book section. At least enough to publish reviews instead of love letters to the local Red Squad.

I expect I should admit, at this point, that I'm an incorrigible logroller myself. For I'm champing at the bit about the *Times* review of Bruce Minton's and John Stuart's *The Fat Years and the Lean,* a volume written by my husband and my best friend, and about Mr. Ralph Thompson on the subject of Albert Maltz's *The Underground Stream.* Mr. Maltz is one of the household idols. I guess this is very unethical in bourgeois circles, but if the *Times* can hire some reviewers obviously born to work for the Personnel Department of the Ford Motor Co., I should be allowed to get in a few licks on the subject myself.

We may now pass on to Exhibit A, the New York *Times* and contemporary history. Here is a review in Sunday's *Times* of *The Fat Years and the Lean* which would warm the cockles of my Uncle Pete's heart, however depressing it must seem to naive fellows who believe the book section of the country's most famous newspaper is something more than a racket. The hatchet man for the job in question is a gent named John H. Crider. Mr. Crider begins to toy with the question: "Are the authors Communists, or aren't they?" This fascinating problem occupies half the space of the review and keeps you breathless. Mr. Crider believes the whole thing is a plot. Now he sees through it; now he doesn't. The authors state they favor socialism—Mr. Crider wonders whether this isn't just a smokescreen, a low subterfuge to fool the FBI. Maybe they really mean Communism?

Of course any brief examination of the position of the Communist Party would reveal the horrid fact that Communists favor a socialist America, but maybe this is giving the game away to the enemy. Well, to get back to Criticism as she is practiced on the *Times,* Mr. Crider finally decides, about two-thirds of the way through his brilliant essay, that Messrs. Minton and Stuart, if not outright Communists, are so close to it that you can't tell the difference.

At this point the reader could be pardoned a loud "So what?" But Mr. Crider considers the point made. The gents are Reds. Period. Now Mr. Crider, with 350 words left, takes up economics.

> To understand this book one must brush aside any notions that he is merely an American citizen, and decide at the outset whether he is a capitalist, a member of the middle class, or a worker. These distinctions are important according to Marxist doctrine of the "class society."

This seems a rather clumsy way of stating the idea, but so far so good. However, don't hold your breath waiting for Mr. Crider to prove that modern society is not divided into mutually antagonistic classes. He doesn't. Probably because he can't, and also because he thinks stating that a book is based on the class struggle is an epithet by itself. As he puts it so lyrically, "This book fans the flames of class distinction." Ah there, Mr. Crider! How can a book fan something that doesn't exist?

Well, this gives you the general idea. The new *Times* formula is a little something in the Edgar Hoover vein. First prove the writer of a book is Communist. Next state that he holds Marxist opinions. And that's that. Don't argue with him, it's dangerous, those nasty Reds can always demolish you in a good clean fight. Just hang a label on them, and hope your audience will run like hell in the other direction.

But maybe you think the great *Times* was just nodding when Mr. Crider's piece slipped through? Then consider Mr. Ralph Thompson, on *The Underground Stream.* Mr. Thompson's Monday review followed a very intelligent and favorable article on the Maltz book in the Sunday book section. So he begins by bawling out his fellow critic. "Some reviewers have admired the book as a labor novel. But the important thing is that it has an American Communist for a hero."

*Q. E. D.,* of course. And Mr. Thompson states the case quite baldly. He says, "*The Underground Stream* need hardly be discussed apart from its tendency [to praise the Communist Party]." Incidentally Mr. Thompson is the possessor of the most remarkable exclamation point in written history. At least I think so. He says: "Princey, an earnest young Marxist, is finally kidnaped by the Black Legion (!)" That exclamation point is Mr. Thompson. I don't like to get picky and choosy about punctuation, but the old McKenney dander is up. Just what does Mr. Thompson mean with his pretty little exclamation point? Is he suggesting that Communists were never kidnaped by the Black Legion? He says he can't agree that Princey died for a "noble and sacred ideal," but does that interesting piece of punctuation imply that the Black Legion and the Communists were buddies?

I don't like it when Mr. Thompson and Mr. Crider and the rest of the gang fool around with good books and the ideas of their betters, but it makes me hot and cold with fury when they start throwing exclamation points around at our dead. The whole world knows that Communists have died fighting fascism in Detroit and in Spain and in China and in New York City, too.

Mr. Thompson may save his exclamation points for Edgar Hoover and other heroes in the *Times* Valhalla. The lives of those who were indeed kidnaped by the Black Legion in Detroit and destroyed by the Fascists in Spain will yet add up to the score that will someday mean that Marxist ideas will be included among the news the New York *Times* finds fit to print.

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# How Socialist Planning Works

Socialism will bring to all peoples the abundant life, says Corliss Lamont. Administering the system of production for use. The answers to capitalist apologists.

THOSE professional apologists for the present economic order who are so expert at proving that capitalism creates the best of all possible worlds are equally facile in disproving, to the complete satisfaction of themselves and their employers, the possibility of a successfully functioning planned economy. To what extent these various professors, columnists, editorial writers, lecturers, ex-liberals, and assorted miscellany of authors have grasped the essential features of a planned society and have penetrated to the essential facts involved is well demonstrated in their current discussions of socialism and its system of planning.

The commonest objection to socialist planning, made frequently by such great lovers of peace, democracy, and the M-Day Plan for America as Walter Lippmann and Dorothy Thompson, is that it entails political dictatorship and the regimentation of the individual. Yet it cannot be stated too often that planning under American socialism, with a truly representative people's government in power, will not only ensure democracy by operating on the basis of parliamentary procedure, administrative flexibility, and local initiative, but will also enormously extend and stimulate our democratic way of life.

### DEMOCRATIC INTERACTION

As I tried to make plain in my last article, the idea behind socialist planning in the United States is not to set up a group of dictatorial supermen who sit in Washington and hand down orders to the rest of the country, but to provide for continuous and democratic interaction between the local planning units and the ones higher up, between the organizations on the circumference and those at the center. Within the framework of each American Four Year Plan it is possible and indeed highly desirable to give a good deal of leeway to the lower planning and administrative agencies in working out the details for their own particular sectors and in making final decisions on matters of primarily local significance. The principle to be followed throughout, and which will become increasingly actualized as socialism becomes more and more firmly established, is that of the greatest possible decentralization and autonomy consistent with nationwide coordination. Very definitely this principle extends to industrial production, where considerable decentralization has been made feasible through modern developments in electric power. One of the first things that socialist planning aims to rectify is the over-concentration of manufacture in urban areas, resulting in crowded living, bad air, and lack of recreational facilities.

In his desperate endeavor to prove that planning demands a stern, rigid dictatorship and is incompatible with the more fluid processes of democracy, Mr. Lippmann, whom we may take as typical of capitalist critics of socialism, tells us that "a plan subject to change from month to month or even from year to year is not a plan." But precisely such flexibility is a basic characteristic of socialist planning, which, while always retaining the broad objectives of its long range plans, insists on checking and revising planning schedules every year, every quarter, and every month. And I submit that the sort of comment just quoted could only be made by a person who has forgotten the commonplace planning procedures of daily life, who has ignored most of the extant material on economic planning, and who has been blind to events in the Soviet Union over the last fifteen years.

Closely akin to the charge that socialist planning necessarily implies dictatorship is the claim that it will bring into power a huge army of government bureaucrats who will proceed to boss all of us about and tend to become a self-perpetuating body of slack, corrupt, and privileged functionaries. Now in the sense that any economic system must have the personnel to administer it, every economic system has a bureaucracy. But the officials in a socialist state will have a very different psychology from those in a capitalist; and there is no proof anyway that an administrative group working as public servants is less efficient than such a group working at the direction of private business and constituting a private bureaucracy. Whether character or ability is in question, we can be sure that when the main economic enterprises of the nation are all parts of governmental or some other form of socialized service, the administrators of which are consistently well paid, the highest talent available will enter that service. In fact, even in the atrocious environment of American capitalism the public administrations in nation, state, and city have on the whole done a pretty good job, as witness the post office department, the construction of highways, the municipal water-supply systems, and vast projects like the Tennessee Valley Authority.

### INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

Moreover, socialism means the institution of full industrial democracy throughout business enterprise where private capitalists have hitherto acted like little czars, hiring and firing, restricting and expanding production, all at their own sweet profit-motivated will. Then, too, since those elected to office in a socialist society will be dealing specifically with the chief economic as well as political questions of the day, so that economics and politics are at last thoroughly integrated, the people can be depended upon to be a good deal more vigilant than at present in keeping abreast of public affairs and checking up on their chosen representatives.

Further objection is offered to public ownership and operation on the grounds that government officials, cannot be relied upon ethically. Now while it is true that the governments of modern societies have been honeycombed with graft, it is probable that dishonesty and shady dealing in private business have been far worse. Most fundamental of all to remember is that political life takes its color from the dominant economic institutions of the time. Present day corruption in politics is a function of the corrupt capitalist system; and by far the greater part of it will disappear with that system. I do not go so far as to assert that American socialism will put an absolute end to all graft; but by unceasingly prosecuting crooks of every variety, by eliminating permanently the private business elements that do so much of the grafting, by ensuring good pay to public officials, and by profoundly altering the moral atmosphere of economic and political life, it will make corruption in government both more difficult to get away with and less tempting psychologically.

### FALSE ASSUMPTION

Part of the argument about socialist regimentation is based on the assumption that "the government" will be the one and only employer and will therefore have at its complete mercy the entire working population of the country. But, besides the fact that the American people as a whole will definitely control that government, there are the important considerations that the civil service system will be steadily extended under socialism and that, as I explained last week, scores of thousands of different socialized organizations and institutions, a large proportion of them non-governmental, will exist to give employment. No doubt these various agencies and offices will compete with one another for the services of capable individuals. And in any case the system of social security will guard all workers against possible economic pressure from government bureaucrats by guaranteeing to them a certain minimum standard of living.

Of course, concepts like regimentation and liberty cannot possibly be evaluated properly apart from existing economic conditions. Who could be more regimented, for instance, than those wretched multitudes under capitalism who are condemned through no fault of their own to unemployment? And if socialist planning really does result in the disappearance of depression and unemployment and in an enormous rise in the material and cultural standards of the masses of the people, then "liberation" rather than "regimentation" would seem the more accurate word to apply to the new situation. (The accompanying table

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indicates something of the rise in living standards that a more rational economic system could bring about.) As Walter Lippmann himself writes in an unguarded moment, "The existence of plenty is a condition of liberty, and multiplies the individual choices."

Socialist abundance, I should add, does not just mean a vast multiplication of the basic necessities of existence—food, clothes, housing, and so on—important as those are; it also means an abundance of consumers' goods of every variety, including many things that are at present regarded as luxuries. We shall in addition see an immense improvement over capitalism in the matter of quality and beauty. As Harold Loeb, one of America's most intelligent economists, points out, under the capitalist system "the additional life that might be built into consumer goods, at so slight an additional cost, would in no way benefit the manufacturer. His pecuniary interest lies in selling a second article to replace the one that has been worn out." In a planned economy, however, producing for use instead of profit, there is not this pressure for utilizing cheap and nondurable materials and at the same time neglecting esthetic considerations. Of course none of this implies that carefully controlled mass production on a standardized basis is incompatible with useful variety and consumers' freedom of choice.

This variety and freedom of choice, often said to be impossible under socialism, will be facilitated by the fact that the US National Planning Commission and its subordinate organizations throughout the country will make a point of keeping informed on the needs and desires of consumers. Under its Distribution Division the commission has a special section on Consumers' Needs which will concentrate on this task. This section will make far-reaching tests of consumer habits and send out questionnaires on a large scale to the public, as many capitalist businesses and magazines do already. It will also continue the work of existing government agencies, like the Bureau of Home Economics and the Bureau of Standards, that collect and give out information valuable to the consumer concerning all sorts of goods and services.

In general, one of the most vital problems that our socialist planners will face is that of procuring trustworthy data on the capacities and requirements of the nation as a whole and of its various planning subdivisions. It is not possible even to *start* planning without *some* such data; yet it is not possible to obtain complete and reliable data until planning is well under way. The National Commission's Division of Statistics and Research plays a central role here. And as socialist planning makes headway in America, we shall see a steady improvement and enlargement of the statistical base, making the intricate network of economic forces more and more measurable and bringing about what economists have aptly called total economic *visibility*.

Here again, we already possess in the United States a large number of both governmental and private agencies which, despite their tendency toward capitalist bias, are constantly building up useful statistical knowledge and which could easily be directed to the ends of socialist planning. In the public field there are, for example, the National Resources Planning Board, the Bureau of the Census, the Bureau of Internal Revenue, and the Bureau of Labor Statistics. In the private field there are such organizations as the Brookings Institution, the National Bureau of Economic Research, and the Labor Research Association, not to mention the unceasing work of university researchers and professors. At least once a week most of our big capitalist newspapers publish quite detailed reports of the state of business (production, prices, sales, etc.) in the most important branches of economic activity and attempt to give a panoramic view of the entire picture in what is called the business index.

The best reply, then, to the argument that our modern economy has become "too complex" for over-all socialist planning is that American capitalism itself, through its highly developed statistical procedures, has laid the basis for controlling the undoubted complexity of our society. Whatever future growth in complexity may occur, we can be certain that the accompanying evolution of statistical science and knowledge will keep pace with it.

It is socialism's statistical controls, particularly as carried out in *socialist accounting*, that also give the answer to those critics who assert that under socialism extravagant officials will fling away heedlessly and without restraint the financial resources of the community. Here the national Treasury Department and its subordinate agencies bear the chief responsibility. Under America's socialist financial system every producing and distributing unit in the land has an account in the central State Bank or one of its branches. And it is the duty of each bank to check up carefully on the use of the credits, long term, short term, or emergency, which it issues at any time. Thus the socialist banks become the watchdogs of the whole economy by carrying on what amounts to a constant audit of all business enterprise. They act as the vital link between the various sets of plans drawn up on paper and the fulfillment of these plans in concrete goods and services. In this function the banks utilize a system of accounting, organized on the strictest basis and with the aim of cutting costs as far as possible, that penetrates into every nook and cranny of economic activity.

These are some of the considerations that deal decisively, it seems to me, with the claim that we Americans simply do not possess the ability and intelligence to put across successfully nationwide socialist planning. Naturally enough, errors will be made under such planning, especially at the start. And I hope I have not given the impression that I think a planned economy will result either immediately or in the long run in a final solution of all our problems. But if we fully evaluate the tremendous progress that has been achieved by socialist planning in a Russia which was just the other day one of the most backward of nations, then this mechanical wonderland of America, with its great educational facilities and superb technical skills, will attain under socialism undreamed of economic and cultural heights.

My final answer to the fainthearted and timid-minded of these times is that modern men have the capacity to plan—and plan well—not only for a nation as a whole, but also ultimately for the world as a whole. And I expect that my children will see, even if I do not, Twenty Year World Plans that will immeasurably raise the living standards of all humanity and sweep unemployment, depression, and war off the face of the globe. Socialism and socialist planning will eventually bring to all peoples the abundant life promised by the potentialities of this good earth. They will make mankind at last the happy master of its high destiny. CORLISS LAMONT.

*Mr. Lamont will be glad to answer, in coming issues of* NEW MASSES, *questions concerning this series of three articles on socialist planning in America.*—THE EDITORS.

IN THE table below I have attempted to work out the *approximate* loss from unused capacity in the United States for the ten years from 1929 through 1938. It allows for an increase of 5 percent annually in production, which is 1.5 percent more than the average in capitalist America from 1880 to 1930. But this table assumes the operation of the capitalist system in general and therefore by no means represents the increase in income that could be attained under full socialist planning.

*Actual* production figures are from the National Resources Committee, though the estimate for 1938 is unofficial. The source for the base *potential* production figure of 1929 is the Brookings Institution.

*(Billions of 1929 dollars)*

| *Year* | *Actual Production* | *Potential Production* | *Loss from Unused Capacity* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1929 | 81.1 | 95.5 | 14.4 |
| 1930 | 70.2 | 100.3 | 30.1 |
| 1931 | 60.4 | 105.3 | 44.9 |
| 1932 | 49.8 | 110.6 | 60.8 |
| 1933 | 55.2 | 116.1 | 60.9 |
| 1934 | 62.8 | 121.9 | 59.1 |
| 1935 | 67.5 | 128.0 | 60.5 |
| 1936 | 76.7 | 134.4 | 57.7 |
| 1937 | 81.0 | 141.1 | 60.1 |
| 1938 | 73.6 | 148.1 | 74.5 |
| Total | 678.3 | 1201.3 | 523.0 |

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# NEW MASSES

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## *In the Nazi Mold*

WHEN the legislative representative of the Veterans of Foreign Wars tells a Senate subcommittee that a bill which is supposed to be directed at the Communist Party might also apply to his organization, it is evident that Red-baiting has gone hog wild. That is exactly what happened at the hearings before the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on the Voorhis registration bill recently passed by the House. This is the Dies committee measure sponsored by Rep. Jerry Voorhis, the Texas fuehrer's "liberal" stooge. It would compel organizations with foreign affiliations to supply membership lists, meeting places of branches, lists of contributors, and other detailed information, all to be open to public inspection. No union-buster could ask for more.

It was Earl Browder, Communist candidate for President, who supplied the definitive clinical analysis of the Voorhis bill. He proved more than a match for the subcommittee's chairman, Sen. Tom Connally, of Texas, to whom he gave lessons in American history and the voting laws in various states. Browder warned that the bill would "render impossible operation of the trade union movement as now constituted." He declared that "any incidental difficulties that this bill would represent for the Bund would be more than offset by the victory for their political philosophy which this bill represents." And he pointed out that "there is no political organization in America which could supply the information asked in this bill."

The Voorhis bill, like the Smith bill, recently signed by President Roosevelt, is an expression of the totalitarian tendencies that are a by-product of the war incitement of the Roosevelt administration. In its newly published annual survey the American Civil Liberties Union—whose own Communist purge lent not a little impetus to these tendencies—indicates how grave the situation is:

> At no period in the twenty years of its existence have the ACLU and other agencies engaged in protecting civil rights been confronted with such an array of threatened measures of repression. Added to the federal measures are local enactments and orders, mob violence, and hasty formation of citizens' committees dedicated to stamping out "subversive influences."

Hitler has already invaded America. Our senators and representatives will require stern prodding if the way is to be barred to his further advance.

## *Toward Total War*

ANOTHER $5,000,000,000 into the bottomless pit of war preparations—and President Roosevelt tries to ease it down with a new phrase, "total defense." But it isn't really new; its source is well known. Total defense is the running mate of total war; the totalitarian state is the mother of both. Phrases like "hard work" and "sacrifice" were in the President's latest message; they weave an ominous counterpoint to "total defense." Missing were any democratic guarantees; missing was the breath of democracy itself.

So we are to spend $14,000,000,000 for so-called defense—assuming that Roosevelt will not discover two or three weeks hence that an additional two or three or five billions must be appropriated. Fourteen billion dollars *is more than the total defense appropriations for the seven previous years of the Roosevelt administration.* The President assures the American people that these gigantic sums to be wrung out of the people's toil are for defense: "We will not use our arms in a war of aggression; we will not send our men to take part in European wars." His conversion to non-interventionism is belated, to say the least; perhaps the reason for the about-face can be found in Chicago. The New York *Herald Tribune,* which has been demanding a declaration of war against Germany, is peeved at this transparent electioneering demagogy. "To demand that the nation spend $10,000,000,000 for preparedness [the *Herald Tribune* adding machine hasn't caught up with the Roosevelt calculations] and in the same breath pledge that no American boy shall fight on foreign soil is to state an obvious contradiction." For once the Republican house organ tells the truth. But what's a contradiction more or less when the American people are to be duped into surrendering their liberties to the warmakers? The President also said that one of his objectives was to provide the equipment for a land force of 1,200,000 men, "though, of course, this total of men would not be in the army in time of peace." Two days later Col. H. L. Twaddle, testifying before the Senate Military Affairs Committee in behalf of Brig. Gen. Frank M. Andrews, staff chief of operations and training, outlined plans for compulsory military service under which there would be in the army by April 1941 *in peacetime* a total of 1,415,000 men.

## *Appeasing Wall Street*

THE meaning of another White House electioneering maneuver also became clearer during the past week. When President Roosevelt proposed that Congress enact an excess profits tax on individuals and corporations, NEW MASSES described it as an afterthought to the Republican nomination of the utilities magnate, Wendell Willkie. It now appears that we were far too charitable. The Roosevelt tax proposal was actually a screen for tax appeasement of big business. The administration has come forward with a scheme repealing the profit limitations on aircraft and naval ships and providing for the amortization over a five-year period of additional plant and equipment facilities certified as necessary for national defense. Only recently Congress, in passing the new navy act, rejected proposals of the Navy Department that manufacturers be permitted 10 and 12 percent profit and reduced this to 7 and 8 percent, a handsome enough take. Now even this is to be repealed; the sky's the limit. (Was there a gentleman who said something about no war millionaires?)

The amortization provision will work this way. At present companies that build new facilities are permitted to deduct from total profits each year for ten years 10 percent of the cost. Under the new administration plan they will be permitted to charge off 20 percent a year for five years, thus further reducing their taxes. The *United States News* cites other reasons why there is joy in Wall Street these days:

> A further indication of the new government-business cooperation is found in a new program now forming to ease the rigid requirements of anti-trust laws where they interfere with defense orders. . . .
>
> The government also is adopting a new attitude toward strikes and in effect is imposing a system of compulsory mediation. . . . Other indications of the government's disposition to cooperate with business are found in administrative rulings easing rigidities of the wage-hour law and a provision in the Navy Act to permit the President to suspend operation of the Walsh-Healey act, which requires a forty-hour week on government orders.

## *Havana's Smoke-Filled Room*

OPENING this Saturday, Havana's pan-American conference expresses the answer of American imperialism to the new situation in Europe. Twenty-one Latin American nations are represented by their foreign ministers—with the exception of Argentina, whose delegate of lesser rank reflects Argentina's indisposition to accommodate American political designs. Cordell Hull comes from Washington, accompanied by Adolph Berle plus a group of ranking hemisphere experts.

The basic problem of the conference, in the State Department's view, is how to extend American business influence below the Rio Grande at the expense of all rivals, especially the Germans. Related to this purpose is the assurance of expanded production of Bolivian and Brazilian rubber for the arms program as a substitute and complement to the East Indies supplies. The basic contradiction of American hemisphere relations is simply that as agricultural economies the Latin American countries naturally seek to maintain commercial connections with Europe, first of all Germany. The United States has large agricultural surpluses of its own. It must, as an advanced imperialist economy, export manufactured goods if the "people who

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count" in this country are to profit. Washington has broached a maximum scheme—the cartel—a corporation which would channelize all hemisphere trade with the rest of the world as though these Latin American nations were simply part of Wall Street's empire. And a minimum plan provides for the purchase of agricultural surpluses through an American corporation, thus providing ready cash in South America as well as enabling the United States to undersell Germany by price control. The United States also desires guarantees against German political penetration involving the destiny of French, British, and Dutch colonial possessions in the Caribbean.

Every effort will be made to present the conclusions of the Havana conference as the will of "hemisphere democracy faced by the totalitarian danger," with the United States acting as "Helpful Hank." The truth is that Argentine and Brazilian business men fear the straitjacketing influence of Wall Street's control. They seek to strike the best possible bargains by playing Germany off against the United States. Deep in the popular consciousness lies the hatred of Wall Street, whose omens remain the presence of American gunboats in South American waters, the appointment of Henry Stimson, Hoover's secretary of state, to the Cabinet, the public plans in Washington for military intervention below the border.

No progressive solution of hemisphere problems is possible without industrialization, without the distribution of the large landed estates among the peasants, without full support to democratic forces, the working people above all. Germany promises none of these things. Neither does Wall Street, whose technique is primarily the appeasement of local Latin American dictators, the cost of which is paid for by the Treasury, and perhaps by blood.

## *Betraying China*

THERE'S no question any longer that Britain has given Japan the green light. The British have acceded to Japan's request that the Burma road, a crucial route for American, Soviet, and British supplies to China, be closed. Since Japan herself has already forced the cessation of supplies through French Indo-China, only the northwestern route through Sinkiang from the USSR remains. Last Sunday the acting governor of Malaya announced that London was definitely "mediating" the Far Eastern war. (NEW MASSES readers will recall that our editorial of May 14 anticipated this development.) For this very purpose conferences between the Japanese ambassador to London, Shigemitsu, and high British officials had been going on since last spring. The closing of these roads is not necessarily crucial for China—it only anticipates an arrangement which will unquestionably be at China's expense. England's purpose is not merely to conciliate Japan in expectation of Germany's attack; it is intended to deflect Japan from the heart of the British empire—the East Indies and India. If the Japanese won't move against the USSR, then China must be sacrificed. Thus, at the moment when Churchill weeps at the betrayal of France, Britain herself participates in the betrayal of the great democracy of the Asiatic world—China.

Although Secretary of State Hull has issued a statement criticizing this move, it is nevertheless obvious that Mr. Roosevelt's declaration in favor of a "Monroe Doctrine for Asia" two weeks ago was no casual gesture. By its jubilation the Japanese press has interpreted Mr. Roosevelt correctly. And Chiang Kai-shek last week, in his speech to the Kuomintang congress, criticized the President and American policy.

China is not likely to go the way of Czechoslovakia, or Spain, or France. Her many-millioned embattled sons and daughters will not permit internal treachery—now a more ominous possibility than ever—to bar their path. They can be expected to reaffirm their resistance, to draw closer to their only remaining friend—the USSR. More than ever our own obligation becomes decisive. The American government must be compelled to enforce an immediate embargo, not only the one on gasoline and machine tools, but one on scrap iron especially. Credits for arms and airplanes must be extended to China. An immediate approach must be made by the USA to the USSR for a treaty of collaboration in the Far East, providing genuine reciprocal guarantees—in the first place, mutual support of China's full independence.

## *Siege of Britain*

GERMAN and British air forces exchanged bombardments all last week but there is still no other sign of when the invasion begins. British and Italian fleet units were engaged in Mediterranean battles, the results of which were obscure. The most we gathered was that the fleets destroyed each other while giving fierce battle by sailing in opposite directions. Within Britain, however, the effects of the restrictions upon the people are growing daily more severe. Rationing has become more onerous, a new budget will shortly be introduced, civil liberties are further curbed by the new Emergency Powers Bill. The British *Daily Worker,* whose editorial chairman is J. B. S. Haldane, was warned this week of impending censorship and suppression by the minister for home security, Sir John Anderson. Britain's rulers and labor leaders still have not absorbed the first lesson of the French disaster, namely that the enemy cannot be defeated until the working class wins new freedoms in the very midst of the struggle, until every effort to identify the British Communists with the enemy is abandoned.

Churchill again summarized the situation in his characteristic prose. His emphasis against surrender, his insistence upon carrying the struggle to the streets of London, his mention of the year 1942 as the date when Britain can expect to take the initiative in this war remind us of the last speeches of Paul Reynaud—he also appealed for time to turn the tide, he also spurned surrender. Fundamentally, Britain faces a siege. A siege is a state of affairs where the enemy has offered terms not yet acceptable to the besieged. Our impression is that while British popular morale is far superior to that of France, behind the scenes the rulers of Britain, Big Business, are weighing the enemy's terms.

## *France in Chains*

THE men who betrayed France are drawing all the conclusions from their betrayal. Last week France adopted a new constitution, consecrated by Marshal Petain's *"l'etat c'est moi"* decree. The German newspapers speak of the fascization of France with a certain condescension which befits the Aryan conquerors. With something of a sneer they insist that this is only the beginning. The fact is that France is being modeled not so much after Germany as after Italy, or better—Spain. It is of the greatest importance in understanding the spirit of the German conquest to realize that France does not become a *replica* of Germany, but a *subordinate,* almost in the sense of Franco's Spain. Significantly, it has the Vatican's blessing.

France has a long way to go to become a fascist state, say the Germans. But time is not a commodity that the eighty-five-year-old Petain can spare. The men who hold this bastard power will not hold it for long. France of the factories recuperates, conserves its strength, explains and explains the meaning of the surrender, and bides its time. Only from this France can come the moral regeneration of which the correspondents find the French people so much in need.

## *Madrid Will Rise Again*

FOUR years ago the Spanish generals rose up against the people. It was to have been a coup in swashbuckling style. In a few days, a few weeks at most, the democratic government would be in flight, "order" would be restored, the landowners, the industrialists, the church hierarchy would rest easy. But the Spanish people decided differently. For two years and eight months they defended their new life, their great freedom against not only Franco's men, but against the men and *materiel* of Franco's masters, Hitler and Mussolini, and against the "non-intervention" knife-in-the-back of the so-called democracies. For two years and eight months Madrid held out, defended by raw troops led by inexperienced officers, without adequate guns and planes and tanks, without a protecting Maginot or Siegfried line—held out against the best that Hitler and Mussolini could offer. And at the end Madrid was not conquered; it was betrayed from within.

Only two governments stood by democratic Spain, those of the Soviet Union and Mexico; and only the former was able to give substantial aid. The Roosevelt administration took its stand with the appeasers of fascism and helped blockade Spain. But the people everywhere made the cause of Spanish democracy

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their own; from the United States went not only food, clothing, and medical supplies, but several thousand of our best young men, many of whom never returned.

Today the dragon's teeth sown by Hitler, Mussolini, Chamberlain, Blum, and Roosevelt have borne terrible fruit. It was in Spain that Hitler perfected his *Panzerdivisionen;* it was in Spain that the grave of the French republic was dug. Spain itself is a house of the dead. One million are in prisons and concentration camps; the people are without bread while wheat is being shipped to Germany. Though British influence was for a time in the ascendant, since the collapse of France, foreign policy has been predominantly dictated in Rome and Berlin.

But victory has brought no stability to the Franco dictatorship. The struggle between the Falangists and the traditional reactionaries described by Cesar Falcon in the May 21 issue of NEW MASSES, continues unabated. And the regime itself is an island in a sea of enemies—the Spanish people, who have made no peace with fascism. Deep in the underground the Communist Party, which at the end was the largest and most influential political organization in Spain, works for the day of liberation. Madrid, like Paris, will rise again.

## *They Need Your Help!*

AT FIRST they were few, the victims of Nazi terror who fled from Germany. Then as the orbit of war widened from Africa to Spain, eastward into Czechoslovakia, north to Scandinavia, and finally westward to the Atlantic, the refugee problem became one which the mind was no longer able to comprehend. Spain's democrats moved into what they thought was a hospitable sister democracy over the Pyrenees. They—like thousands of other anti-fascist Czechs, Poles, Germans, Jews, Belgians, Austrians, Hollanders, Italians — were thrust into concentration camps instead. Now, as the French hangmen deliver their own people over to Hitler, these heroic men and women are in danger of complete extermination.

In recent days, pitiful letters have been received from overseas. Noted writers—Heinrich Mann, Lion Feuchtwanger, Friedrich Wolf, Franz Werfel—are in immediate peril. Time is indeed short, and friends of the homeless exiles are redoubling their efforts to save as many as possible. The American Committee for Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, of which Prof. Franz Boas is head, seeks to obtain the release of anti-fascists from French camps, with extension of consular protection pending evacuation and the right of asylum in the United States. The League of American Writers is raising money. The United American Spanish Aid Committee wants funds to charter refugee ships for the 180,000 Spanish and four thousand international volunteers in French camps. You can do much to aid these efforts by joining their petition campaigns, raising money, organizing meetings.

## *Twice Victimized*

WHEN Ben Gold and other officials of the fur workers' union were arraigned on anti-trust charges, the government spared no pains, using the testimony of stoolpigeons, ex-convicts, irreconcilable employers, and spinning a fabric of lies in order to convict. During that trial William Karpouzas, a government witness, recanted his testimony and charged that the US attorney's office had coached him to perjure himself. This incident formed the basis of an appeal to Attorney General Jackson to investigate the case. But Jackson did no such thing; instead his New York representatives proceeded again against the defendants, charging them with the conspiracy to obstruct justice against which the union leaders themselves had protested.

Again the parade of choice witnesses, again a conviction, this time of only six officials, with Gold acquitted. In both cases extreme penalties of jail sentence and fines were handed down in an attempt to smash a model progressive union.

## *Terror against Voters*

YOU possess, in theory, many inalienable rights guaranteed by the Constitution. One is to vote for a candidate of your own choice, a right now being assailed in an unprecedented drive against anti-war organizations, and in particular against friends, voters, and candidates of the Communist Party.

Martin Dies and the American Legion are among the instigators of this attack, which is concentrated in states where minority candidates for office must be supported by petitions. Two months ago nine thousand West Virginians signed petitions to put Browder and Ford on the ballot. Nearly sixty thousand Pennsylvanians have similarly backed Communist state and national choices. When the petitions were filed a grand scale assault began: petitioners' names were published in a Legion pamphlet and in local newspapers; Martin Dies sent thousands of franked letters asking petitioners' aid in finding alleged "fraud and irregularities"; grand juries issued summonses wholesale; petitioners were arrested; all Communist candidates and several canvassers in western Pennsylvania were thrown into jail. The process of law governing bail and habeas corpus procedure was violated. In several states officials lawlessly declared that they would not obey statutes which made mandatory the placing of Communists on the ballot. Among the by-products of the terror is the firing of steel workers in Pennsylvania following publication of their names as signers of petitions.

The American voter, limited in the use of his vote by the poll tax, hedged in by the two-party system, regards his franchise as a mark of his citizenship in a democracy. He will want to know why J. Edgar Hoover and Attorney General Jackson countenance violation of the federal statute which makes interference with the electoral process a crime. And he will wonder whether this year's attempt to prevent a vote for anti-war candidates may not result next year in his being unable to vote at all.

## *Vandals on WPA*

AUGUST HENKEL, a WPA artist, worked for four years on a mural which was finally hung in the administration building at Floyd Bennett airfield. The painting, in four sections, depicted the history of aviation. Among its figures were Jimmy Collins, the famed test pilot who lost his life for the advancement of aviation; and Joseph Rosmarin, who flew in Spain for the loyalists. Col. Brehon B. Somervell, acting upon the complaint that the work contained "Communist propaganda," ordered three of the four sections destroyed. Henkel was dismissed. Wide publicity was given the case; it was reported that Henkel had put Russian blouses on the Wright brothers, had painted Joseph Stalin's face into the mural, and had inserted a plane resembling the Russian machine which flew over the North Pole. These wild flights of fancy were disproved by examinations of the mural and the project research records.

The persecution of Henkel concealed an attempt by Colonel Somervell to break the progressive United American Artists, a CIO union which has played an important part in maintaining the high professional standards of the art project. Many of the union's members who work on the project are opposed to the threat by Colonel Somervell to liquidate the project if they refuse to be converted into camouflage and poster painters for the War Department. Professional and white collar workers as well as many other liberals gathered at a mass meeting to demand Somervell's dismissal as art critic and work relief administrator. To many, the Somervell vandalism was a warning of government plans to regiment artists and strangle culture.

## *Roundup*

BITTEREST *irony of the week:* Celebration of Bastille Day, July 14, by the French fascist government. . . . *How the mighty have fallen:* Duke of Windsor, formerly King Edward VIII, takes job as governor general of the Bahamas at $12,000 per year. . . . *Learned nothing, forgot nothing:* British Labor Bureaucracy expels Harry Adams of Builders Union and W. P. R. Squance, of railwaymen, for leadership in "Peoples Vigilance Committee," which demands ouster of all appeasement forces from British politics. . . . *Services rendered:* Jimmy Cromwell, husband of Doris Duke, who paid for his ambassadorship to Canada by a $50,000 contribution to Democratic National Committee, declared last week he was "delighted" with Wendell Willkie nomination. "Whoever gets elected, we will have a good president," says Jimmy. . . . *Eating crow:* Britain recognizes Haile Selassie's government in exile as an ally. In November 1938 Chamberlain recognized the Italian conquest of Ethiopia.

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# "The Underground Stream"

## Albert Maltz's story of industrial conflict in Detroit, 1936, is a dramatic commentary on the issues of American life today. Reviewed by Samuel Sillen.

THE UNDERGROUND STREAM, *by Albert Maltz. Little, Brown. $2.50.*

THE three O'Henry Memorial prizes for the best stories of 1938 were awarded to Albert Maltz, Richard Wright, and John Steinbeck. On that happy occasion I pointed out that the widely advertised funeral of proletarian literature was apparently being postponed once more. Since then we have had *The Grapes of Wrath* and *Native Son*. And now the third "corpse" has crashed through with *The Underground Stream,* which Erskine Caldwell rightly calls "one of the most compelling books of the day." Like the doughboys in Irwin Shaw's play, the proletarian writers always return to torment the generals of the reviewing staff who have pronounced them dead.

This story of Detroit in the early days of the CIO has a powerful and immediate meaning for the America of 1940. Harry Hansen suggested at the time of Willkie's convention that "it would be a good act for the general welfare if the Republican politicians in Philadelphia who denounce subversive elements were presented with copies of Albert Maltz's *The Underground Stream.*" A wonderful idea—and the same goes for the Democratic politicians whooping it up in Chicago. For this book is a smashing challenge to the great lie which the truly subversive elements in this country are trying to fasten on the people: the lie that Americanism consists in terrorism against minority groups. No reader can overlook the implicit warning that native fascist groups, hiding beneath the drapes of a patriotism which they cheapen, are as unscrupulous and savage as fascist groups abroad.

### STRENGTH OF PURPOSE

To his first novel Albert Maltz has brought the same strength of purpose and clarity of vision for which his plays and short stories have always been distinguished. No writer has come to grips with the central issues of our day more earnestly than the author of "Black Pit" and "Man on a Road." At a time when weaker writers, breaking under the strain of war hysteria, forsake the values to which they formerly professed devotion, it is an inspiration to read and reread the work of a man whose stature increases as the struggle for human rights grows more bitter.

The kidnaping and murder of Fred Prince (or Princey, as he is called) are only the external details of a drama in which the motives and methods of opposite forces in a social conflict are brilliantly revealed. Princey, a tool-and-die worker, is Communist organizer in the Jefferson Motors plant at Detroit. After years of untiring and self-sacrificing effort, Princey and his shopmates are at last seeing the rewards of their work in the growing movement for industrial unionism. The employers' answer to this popular movement is the Black Legion, in which Jeffry Grebb, personnel manager of the plant, sees an effective device for espionage and intimidation. In other words, as we are told in a prefatory note, "the facts which underlie the main events of this book are historical." Like the best of the crisis-generation writers, Maltz is sensitive to the dramatic character of "non-artistic" social reality; and the force of his imaginative conception is heightened by its essentially faithful reflection of real events. Instead of opposing art and nature, imagination and reality, fiction and history, the social realist unites these "extremes," enriches both. Thus, Maltz has deepened our insight into the crucial Detroit struggles of 1936 at the same time that his narrative is given added dramatic power by its creative reflection of these struggles.

### "I CANNOT YIELD"

One understands deeply at the end why Princey can say, as he faces death rather than desert his ideals and comrades: "Beneath all else is this: a man must hold to his purpose. This—nothing less—is the underground stream of his life. Without it he is nothing.

ALBERT MALTZ, *author of "Black Pit," "Man on a Road," and other distinguished plays and short stories, deals with a timely social theme in his first novel, "The Underground Stream."*

I cannot yield. A man is nothing who yields his purpose." Ripped out of context, the words may sound over-heroic. But they have been earned. The ultimate decision has not been easy. For this is, above all, a human story, and Princey is not presented as a saint or a martyr. He is at times headstrong and impetuous. He does not have the resolute discipline of an older and more experienced Communist like Paul Turner, whose advice he fails to heed at a critical moment. But deep down he is solid. Years of hard work, sensitivity to the cruelties of an unjust society, a passionate hatred of fascism, and devotion to socialism have given him an urgent sense of identification with that larger purpose which he will not renounce. Nor does he welcome death, as Lewis Gannett appeared to suggest in a review which compared Princey to an early martyr. His death is not an abstract gesture. It is a part of the total meaning of his life. It is the final expression of the choice which one class has generously offered to another: death or surrender. What one feels is the heroism not so much of Princey the individual as of the group of men and women upon whom Princey can rely to carry on his purpose. Consciousness of all the issues which his death symbolizes has made Princey the master of his murderers.

This consciousness is shared and strengthened by his wife Betsy, who is one of the most beautiful characters I have met in a long time. The relation between Princey and Betsy is described with infinite tenderness and understanding. They are lovers and comrades, plain people who worry about whether they will ever be able to afford a baby, how long it will be before they lose their jobs, by what miracle they can arrange to be with each other when Betsy works on a day shift at the laundry and Princey works on a night shift at the plant. The anguish which they feel during the three days of this story, the torment, loneliness, and fear of their separation, is communicated with tremendous effect. Their intimate sharing of revolutionary beliefs gives an extraordinary dignity and dimension to their love.

### AMERICAN WORKERS

The other Communist characters are drawn more sketchily. That they have been drawn no less successfully is indicated by the judgment of so unsympathetic a critic as William McFee, who told the readers of the New York *Sun* that "Mr. Maltz makes one understand the idealism, the fortitude, and the self-discipline of these working people." The Carmichaels, the Silversmiths, and the others

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in Princey's unit are clearly differentiated as individuals at the same time that they are presented as a group bound together by a common understanding and purpose. It is a thoroughly representative group of American workers. These factory hands and housewives, young and old, Negro and white, Catholic and Protestant, respond to an emergency with courage and generosity. Few novelists have given us as powerful a sense of the vast human resources of American life.

The conflict between two of the Negro characters is handled with unusual skill and insight. Ambrose Bishop is a weakling. He has been paroled out of prison by the Jeffies, agents of the company, who can bend him to their will by threatening to send him back. He is compelled to act as a stoolpigeon. In a memorable scene, he is beaten up by another Negro, Ben Silversmith, who is a disciplined, class-conscious worker. But Silversmith's rage is directed not so much against Bishop as it is against a system which conspires to set brother against brother. Bishop, as Silversmith realizes, is only the pitiful victim of a calculated effort to degrade men in order to defeat them.

Maltz is less successful, I think, with his characters from the other side of town. The country club set introduced at the opening of the book seems conventionally drawn. Characters like Adelaide Harvey and her fiance, Shepherd Trask, do not ring true, and it is significant that they tend to disappear as the main action gets under way. On the other hand, the two most important reactionary characters, Harvey Kellog and Jeffry Grebb, are skillfully portrayed. They represent two levels of the fascist mentality. Kellog, the frustrated and embittered business man, is the head of the local Black Legion. He is essentially weak and cowardly. He is fanatically devoted to the ritual of the Legion, its nightriding, its emphasis on brute force. Unable to cope with his personal problems, the petty bourgeois has allied himself with an organization which outlaws thinking and sanctions the easiest of solutions: terror, mysticism, revenge. By contrast, Jeffry Grebb represents a more sophisticated version of American fascism. A shrewd, cynical, and intelligent executive, Grebb has risen from the ranks. For him the Legion is only a tool. He has a hearty contempt for Kellog's twisted emotionalism but is ready to use it to further his personal ambitions. It is Grebb who tries to make Princey sell out; it is Kellog who kills Princey when Grebb's more subtle tactics fail. We feel that Kellog and Grebb are enemies and allies at the same moment.

SWIFT ACTION

Maltz's experience as a dramatist is clearly reflected in the telling of the story. The action is swift and exciting. With a remarkable economy of style, the author builds toward the climax in a series of brief and rapid scenes. There are no heavy pauses for psychological analysis or social comment: the meaning always emerges from the action. Ralph Fox once urged our novelists to learn from the techniques of the moving pictures. Whether consciously or not, the advice has been heeded by a number of recent writers. The dramatic novel restores to fiction elements of action, suspense, and speed which have been too often overlooked by proletarian writers. By seizing upon reality at a point of high social tension, Maltz has been able to lay bare central issues without formal comments of his own. The method has its limitations, to be sure. A longer and more leisurely novel might have given a fuller sense of the mass of automobile workers, as Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* gave us a fuller sense of the migratory workers than his *In Dubious Battle*. But I think that writers like Albert Maltz and Richard Wright are wise to explore the more highly concentrated medium at the moment. There is room for experiment in cutting across the formal boundaries of the novel, short story, and drama.

*The Underground Stream* is being hailed by the reviewers as another "exception" to their rule about left wing fiction. The *Herald Tribune,* for example, bravely announced that "Here is a left wing writer who can write." I do not offhand have the statistics on "exceptions" like Steinbeck, Richard Wright, Meridel LeSueur, Ben Appel, and the many others whose work has recently been greeted in the press. It is obvious, however, that if you have enough examples to violate a rule, it is high time to make a new one. In any case, an exception like *The Underground Stream* calls for a celebration. And the best way to celebrate it is to read this thoughtful and exciting novel as soon as possible. SAMUEL SILLEN.

## Propaganda Analysis

CONQUERING THE MAN IN THE STREET. *A Psychological Analysis of Propaganda in War, Fascism, and Politics, by Ellis Freeman. The Vanguard Press. $2.50.*

I AM sure that if Mr. Freeman were asked, he would say that the fascist use of psychological appeals is alone not enough to account for what fascist successes there have been; and that he had not intended his book to give that impression. In effect, however, although in the opening and concluding chapters Mr. Freeman refers to other factors, the impression his book gives is that the fascist drive for power and the propaganda mechanisms for retaining power are outstandingly a problem of mass psychology and best understood through a psychological analysis.

Mr. Freeman's study of the psychological strains which fascist propaganda exploits and of the psychological devices used in the exploitation is intelligent, clear, ably organized and documented, and well written. Nothing in this review is intended to depreciate the value of the book as such a study. However, the book is too predominantly that. There are moments in it when the reader loses sight of surrounding and conditioning factors and the fantasy appears almost real that if some sort of mass psychoanalysis could be arranged for them,

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the problems of fascist-ridden peoples could be solved.

But neither the diseases nor the cures are as simple as that. The many stresses from which these peoples suffer, whatever the psychological maladjustments that developed from and accompanied them, were economic and social. Many socially injurious relations have become institutionalized and placed beyond the reach of ordinary therapeutic processes, a danger Mr. Freeman neglects to warn against. For example, socially injurious relations, involving the common sexual neurosis, jealousy, have had a psychopathic adjustment among Moslem and Hindu peoples—the veiling and seclusion of women. This, in its institutionalized forms, has lasted over a thousand years, has resisted all efforts of reformers, and has given way only in the Moslem areas of the Soviet Union, and in Turkey where the bourgeois revolution modified the social basis.

I give this example because it illustrates both that such socially injurious situations can become institutionalized and that they may require revolutionary change to readjust them and to alter the psychological maladjustments in which these institutions were reflected.

Another drawback of the book is the fact that scarcely any differentiation is made between the situation and the propaganda before and after governing power is placed in fascist hands. Generalizations applicable to one situation and one type of propaganda do not apply precisely to the other. Consequently, because this differentiation is not clearly established, neither the campaign against the nerves, the deliberately staged disorder, sowing fright throughout the country and making large groups ready to accept any "order," even a gangster-guaranteed order, in the drive to power, nor in the post-seizure of power period, the pressures and effects of the compulsions set up by fascist control are given sufficient attention.

More important, insufficient stress is given to the economic preconditions of fascism. If we look back to the Germany of the early thirties we find unemployment and discontent to a degree that made conditions intolerable to the people. The index can be seen in the elections of that period. The Communist Party and the Nazis were making enormous gains. The Nazis, both in their name (National Socialist) and in their propaganda, pretended to be socialist. It was when the Communist rate of increase began to top the Nazi rate of increase that the German ruling class acted. Mr. Freeman describes how the German financiers and industrialists subsidized, nursed along, and manipulated the Nazi Party. But he omits an important point—that the Nazis were given the go signal only when the usefulness of the Social Democrats in holding off the revolution appeared to be at an end and it became apparent that the German people were on the point of voting a genuine people's party, ready for social change, into the government.

Thus, while the unscrupulous and clever Nazi propaganda was certainly not negligible, the determining precondition was not German


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mass psychopathies but unemployment and insecurity which generated and sustained these psychopathies, and the decisive act was the manipulation of power, while it was still in the hands of the ruling class, to install a socialist false front, the Nazi Party.

Following the establishment of fascist power, propaganda alone cannot account for its continuance. It was the failure of the Rivera military adventure in Morocco, among other things, and not the lack of a propaganda ministry, that brought the downfall of the first (Primo de Rivera) fascist regime in Spain.

In our own country today we see a dangerous division of the democratic forces. We see liberals sanctioning, as justifiable emergency provisions, acts limiting democratic liberties and withdrawing even existing economic gains of the people; and contributing rationalizations to the reactionaries for placing radicals in a scapegoat role. These are more dangerous than propaganda. It is at such a point that fascist propaganda can become a powerful factor. The psychological bases and the methods by which this propaganda proceeds are very clearly given in Mr. Freeman's book. All readers should bear in mind, as Mr. Freeman himself suggests in his concluding chapter, that the best defenses are positive: the extension of democracy and of well-being for the people. ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

## Youth Congress

AMERICAN YOUTH TODAY, *by Leslie Gould. Random House. $2.*

AN OFFICER of the American Youth Congress, with years of practical work in the youth movement to his credit, Leslie Gould has given us the first full and authentic story of its origin and growth. It makes exciting reading and is invaluable as a handbook for everyone interested in or connected with young people in any way.

The starting point of the book is the Youth Institute at Washington last February, when the AYC had its face slapped by President Roosevelt and its hand clasped by John L. Lewis. The Institute marked the Congress' coming of age. Over five thousand young people went back home to the five million others they spoke for knowing who their enemies and friends were. The nation's press raged and Red-baited and said that the AYC was washed up as a political force.

But the contrary was proved in the immediate attempts of both major parties either to win over the AYC or to wreck it. Through the National Youth Administration and the American Youth Commission the Democrats have tried to set up rival youth groups in several regions. Roosevelt is now trying strangulation through a system of compulsory military and labor service for youth. The Republicans' line has been to get former idols of youth like Gene Tunney to set up dummy youth outfits under such phony "leaders" as Plavner and Lilienthal. Connected directly


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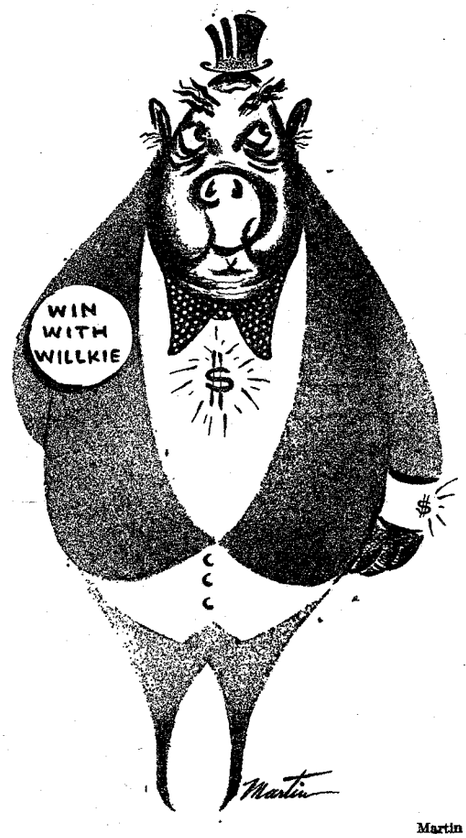
with big business, they have failed completely to corral a mass youth membership.

From the historic Institute and the consequent rapid growth of militant youth councils throughout the nation, the book returns to the beginnings of the mass youth movement, launched at the First American Youth Congress in New York in 1934. After five years of listening to bromides and promises, youth began to find ways of doing things to help itself. Young people became aware of themselves as a "lost generation" with a common problem—jobs—and together started to find a way out of the economic mess.

Rapidly the book tells the stories of the bigger and bigger things the movement tackled: the congresses at Detroit, Cleveland, Milwaukee, Berea, New York; the three dramatic pilgrimages for jobs to the nation's capitol in '36, '37, and '38; the second World Youth Congress at Vassar two years ago. And at each meeting more young people drawn into social action, broader representation of the country's youth, a greater fighting spirit in defense of their rights, and a clearer consciousness of the need for common effort.

The chapter on organization shows in detail what a thoroughly democratic structure the AYC is and what a solid lesson in citizenship's rights and responsibilities it has been for the thousands who have taken part in its activities. A section on Red-baiting outlines the efforts of reaction to obscure the true aims and work of the AYC and to shatter its unity. The variety of organizations and personalities that have been used for these ends are analyzed, and their relation to the forces that are attacking our civil liberties in the drive toward war is made clear.

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## In Memoriam

KAPLAN, HELEN died July 12, 1940. To a true friend and sincere liberal whom I will always remember.—Joseph Yanovich.

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NEW MASSES would be grateful for volunteer, clerical help in circulation campaign. Apply Room 1204, 461 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. C.


# GOINGS ON

ALFRED GOLDSTEIN, popular political analyst, reviews THE NEWS OF THE WEEK every SUNDAY EVENING at Workers School, 2nd floor, 35 East 12 Street. Admission 25c.

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One of the most useful sections of the book is that dealing with the major youth problems: the 4,500,000 who want the chance to hold down a job; the 3,500,000 who can't get through high school because they can't afford books, fares, lunches, clothes; health and recreation and the desire to build a family; and for Negro youth, all these problems in much more acute form. Condensed here in statistics and charts and personal stories is the social tragedy of millions of young Americans cut off from creative labor, science, and culture. They are a generation growing up in a capitalist world become too small for them. Asking for a chance to work in peace and freedom, they are given war and economic privation. They will not be satisfied with such an answer to their aspirations.

Leslie Gould's vivid and authoritative history of the Youth Congress is an excellent guide to what millions of young Americans are thinking in this world of crisis.

MILTON MELTZER.

## Crime Doesn't Pay

### George Brent and Virginia Bruce in a modern morality play.

SOMEONE in Hollywood had a good idea, for *The Man Who Talked Too Much* serves to demonstrate that fact. Either the author of the original play or the screenwriters have recognized, in this modern morality play, that there is terrific economic pressure upon lawyers to be dishonest.

Witness the plight of George Brent, attorney at law, who sent an innocent youngster to the chair. A belated confession failed to save him, so Brent decides never to prosecute another case, starts up practice in a small way for the poor, is repaid in cheese, milk, garden vegetables. This is impossible. Local gangsters think he's pretty smart, offer him big money for being their mouthpiece; he accepts.

From then on it's plain sailing, with George getting richer and richer, his young brother (just out of law school) getting more and more disgusted; his girl-friend secretary, Virginia Bruce, becoming bitter. In an effort to save George from himself, young brother spikes one of George's gangster cases, is himself framed for murder by the mob. Denouement: George defends his brother from the justice he has successfully flouted so many times, loses his case.

Don't worry; young brother gets off, but not without the benefit of much phony histrionics, gunplay, artificial suspense that director Vincent Sherman himself could not justify dramatically. Brent is adequate; I like Virginia Bruce; and Alan Baxter turns in one of his icecold gun-thug characterizations. Otherwise the thing is pretty static, rapidly escaping its early concern with the problem of economic pressure into a runaway melodrama to the monotonous accompaniment of small-arms fire.

ALVAH BESSIE.


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# It has the John Reed touch . .

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THAT'S what one of our readers wrote us about the articles by Joseph North, editor of NEW MASSES, on the Mexican elections in last week's issue. That's like saying it's tops and super-tops in reporting. It's like saying this man North is not only doing a grand job of writing, but he knows what the horizons are and he has read the faces of the people. He read them in Spain, where he covered the war for a year and a half for NEW MASSES. It is four years since that great struggle began, and the truths that Joe North saw and reported so brilliantly are today shaking the world. Now this same struggle between the people and the plunderers is unfolding in somewhat different form in Mexico. Once more Joe North is on the spot, penetrating the confusions of the big money press, giving NEW MASSES readers the shape and color of the epoch-making events below the Rio Grande.

This week we publish the third of North's articles. There are more to come. As another reader wrote: "They're worth the price of admission alone."

But in addition, our readers are getting another treat: the series by Joseph Starobin on our northern neighbor, Canada. Most of us forget that the European war is just across the border. We forget too that the same kind of fifth column crowd that sold France down the river is in control in Canada, and is doing to civil liberties exactly what the French government did. Starobin's articles for the first time tell American readers what is going on beneath the surface of war-locked Canada. Two articles already published, more to come.

Our Washington correspondent, Adam Lapin, is in Chicago covering the Democratic convention. Watch for his article next week. And in every issue, rain or shine, you'll meet the inimitable Ruth McKenney. Her weekly page, "Strictly Personal," is just that. McKenney fans—and who isn't?—know what that means.

Strictly between us, if you want to make sure not to miss a line of the above, fill out the coupon below and shoot it in.

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